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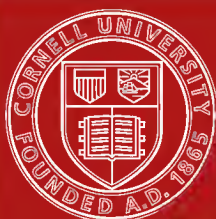
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ANNALS OF MY LIFE

1847-1856

8vo. price 15s.

ANNALS OF MY EARLY LIFE.

1806-1846.

By CHARLES WORDSWORTH, D.D., D.C.L.

Bishop of St. Andrews and Fellow of Winchester College

London: LONGMANS, GREEN, & CO.

New York: 15 East 16th Street.

ANNALS OF MY LIFE

1847—1856

BY

CHARLES WORDSSWORTH, D.D., D.C.L.

BISHOP OF ST ANDREWS AND FELLOW OF WINCHESTER COLLEGE

EDITED BY W. EARL HODGSON

LONDON
LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.

AND NEW YORK: 15 EAST 16th STREET

1893

TO THE MEMORY OF
WILLIAM OF WYKEHAM

THE PIOUS AND MUNIFICENT FOUNDER OF WINCHESTER COLLEGE

IN HEARTFELT GRATITUDE

FOR THE BENEFITS I HAVE RECEIVED
DURING THE LATTER PORTION OF MY LIFE AS A
FELLOW OF THAT COLLEGE

I DEDICATE THESE ANNALS
ON THE FIVE HUNDREDTH ANNIVERSARY
OF ITS OPENING

FLOREAT IN AETERNUM AD DEI GLORIAM

NOTE

THE Bishop of St. Andrews originally designed that his Memoirs should be published in two volumes. He believed that the second would be similar in size to the 'Annals of My Early Life,' published two years ago. It was found, however, that the episodes subsequent to those recorded in that book called for treatment more leisurely and elaborate than that which could be given them in a volume of reasonable size. Besides, Bishop Wordsworth's life was of three distinct periods. There was the period of Oxford and Winchester; the period of Glenalmond; the period of St. Andrews. The work, then, is to be in three volumes. This, the second, which was completed not many weeks before the Bishop's death, on December 5 last year, encroaches upon the domain of the third only in so far as affairs connected with the Wardenship of Trinity College lingered into the Episcopate. The 'Annals' now presented are almost entirely autobiographical. The passages embodying correspondence with Mr. Gladstone are the only parts in which the work differs materially from the MS. as it left Bishop Wordsworth's hands. The Bishop once mentioned to me that Mr. Gladstone was willing that the letters referred to, in which he indicated the nature of the considerations constraining him to change his policy as regards the relationships of Church and State, should

be published word for word. Now, however, Mr. Gladstone feels that they should be reserved for his own 'Life'; and here, therefore, they are in oblique narration. Perhaps it should be mentioned that the letter from Mrs. Gladstone which is printed in Chapter VI., pp. 96-97, appears, in full, with her sanction.

The second volume is published now by desire of the Bishop, who, as will be seen, dedicated it to the Memory of the Founder of Winchester College, which is five hundred years old to-day.

The third volume has still to be written; but all the Bishop's papers were left in strict order, and it will be published ere very long. The materials are in charge of the Bishop of Salisbury, who will be grateful to old friends and correspondents of the late Bishop of St. Andrews if they will lend him any letters of interest written by his uncle. Such letters should be sent to the care of Miss Mary Barter, The Close, Salisbury, who has kindly undertaken to copy and return them to their owners. Letters relating to the period 1856-1892 will be especially valuable.

W. EARL HODGSON.

LONDON, *March 28, 1893.*

P R E F A C E

I HAVE to thank my numerous critics for the favourable reception given, almost without exception, to my former volume. When I say 'favourable reception,' I do not mean that the praise was indiscriminate, or that the defects of the book were not in many instances faithfully pointed out. But, unfortunately, it too often happened that what appeared a blemish to one critic was selected by another for special commendation, so that it has been difficult for me to profit by the criticism as a whole. It was to be expected that there would be differences of opinion in regard to the relative merits and attractiveness of different parts in a volume of such a composite character, according to the different ages, tastes, positions, and experiences (and, I may add, sex), of different readers; but the discordance I refer to extended beyond this. For example (to begin with the style of my book): I am not a little at a loss what to think of my performance in that fundamental respect when in reviews, both of a high class, and both more or less friendly, I find disagreements such as these. On the one hand ('Church Quarterly Review') I read: 'It is a marked deficiency in much English, as compared with French, prose

literature that it is essentially *inferior in style*, and these "Early Annals" suggest that classical scholarship is not incompatible with heaviness in English composition, and a straggling, invertebrate patchwork of original letterpress and quotation.' Depreciation could scarcely go further. On the other hand ('Scotsman') I am told: 'This is a book of great interest. . . . It is, moreover, a work of no mean literary merit. *The style* has all the charm which characterises other writings of the author, and is pervaded by a gentle and gracious spirit, which adds sweetness to *literary refinement*.' What could an author desire more in the way of praise? ¹ The puzzle is, Which of the two am I to believe?

Again, a talented and popular author, writing in a famous Scotch magazine, who has paid me the compliment of devoting seven double-columned pages to a review of my 'Annals,' when she comes to speak of the English 'poetry' (save the mark!), those unpretending 'nugæ canoræ,' as I call them, interspersed, as I had hoped, to give a little relief to the prose, can find nothing better to say of them than, 'Perhaps Wordsworth's nephew would have been wise to

¹ Other reviewers take the same side. For example, the Dean of Salisbury in the *Churchman* magazine: 'The admirable English for which Bishop Wordsworth is so remarkable may claim a place for this volume near the graphic narratives of Hume, Gibbon, &c.' The *Banner*: 'Bishop Wordsworth's book is full of interesting anecdotes, told in fluent and elegant English.' Also a well-known writer in the *Aberdeen Free Press*: 'Before turning to the substance of the *Annals*, we must express our admiration of the style in which they are written. The lover of good English prose will find delight in the Bishop's flowing and rhythmical periods, which seem to have been composed under the inspiration of Coleridge's famous protest (*Friend*, i. 19), "I can never so far sacrifice my judgment to the desire of being immediately popular as to cast my sentences in the French mould, or affect a style which an antient critic would have deemed purposely invented for persons troubled with asthma to read, and for those to comprehend who labour under the more pitiable asthma of a short-witted intellect."'

keep his efforts of this kind under the decorous veil of Latin.' It is but fair to add that one or two of my other critics, and those among the most competent and most appreciative of them all, have been equally uncomplimentary to that portion of my book. For example: 'Of his tributes to the English muse, not one, except as his, is worth preserving.' So that I had begun to think seriously whether, in the event of a future edition, it would not be desirable to exclude the 'nugæ' altogether. On the other hand, a chivalrous Aristarchus, in a well-reputed English monthly, came to the rescue of my unhappy muse, and determined me to allow her to remain where she is. He wrote: 'The English verses, grave and gay (pp. 158-168), to which the occasion [the incident in the Louvre] gave rise, are among the best things of their kind that I have ever read.' This critic, too, as will be seen in what follows, has not been without powerful support from other quarters. Such being the fate of the English verses, it would have been strange indeed if the Latin compositions introduced still more frequently to diversify the narrative, and occupying the greater part of the Appendix, had not met, more or less, with similar consideration. Even one of the kindest and most intelligent of my critics, whilst remarking that the compositions 'enrich the volume,' gently suggests that they are 'sown broadcast, perhaps too plentifully'; and a few other objectors, evidently belonging to the class of 'modern Βάρβαροι' whom Archdeacon Denison describes so scornfully as 'miserrimum pecus,' have made no secret that they are altogether hostile to such productions. Nevertheless, I am more than kept in countenance by the testimonies of an opposite character.

The literary organ which stands at the head of our weekly journals has pronounced that 'the Greek and Latin compositions are faultless, superior even to the English composition, though that, too, is excellent.' Our leading daily journals, both English and Scotch, concur, more or less, in the same verdict.¹ Our leading Church weekly is in accord with the two leading secular dailies. Speaking of 'the verses, English, Latin, and Greek,' it writes: 'It is needless to say that they are all elegant, scholarly, and appropriate'; while in a Presbyterian (Free Church) organ so far north as Aberdeen appears the following: 'The exquisite examples of Greek and Latin verse will be dearly cherished by the experts who can appreciate their merit. And though the general reader may complain somewhat of the exuberance of the Bishop's classical muse, and wish that fewer specimens had sufficed, with such a complaint the specialist will have no sympathy.' When the judgment of his critics is so discordant, an author may be excused if he prefers to act upon the opinions of those who are most favourable to his performances.

Again, with reference to what I had to say about Newman, one critic tells his readers that I am 'very severe

¹ In one I read: 'We can only briefly mention, in conclusion, the "Occasional Compositions in Latin and English verse" with which the reminiscences are copiously and very pleasantly interspersed. Dr. Wordsworth is rather a scholar than a poet; but his English versification is always graceful, while his Latin composition abounds in those rare felicities of diction which are so characteristic of the finer scholarship of his day.' Another journal concludes its friendly notice in these words: 'A considerable part of the book is taken up with the Bishop's verses in Latin and English. As scholarly productions, the Latin poems are of excelling merit; and the verses in English are always neat, and sometimes clever.' They aimed at no higher praise.

on Dr. Newman'; while another observes that of Newman I 'uniformly speak in terms of admiring forbearance and kindness.' One critic objects that my Postscript on the Oxford Movement 'adds nothing to our knowledge of the subject'; another reassures me by remarking that, if my volume 'contained nothing more than the Postscript, with its examination of Cardinal Newman's career and conduct, it would have an abiding value.'¹ And generally, in regard to that portion of my book, the tenor of the criticism, whether favourable or the reverse, may for the most part be conjectured beforehand from the ecclesiastical stand-points of the several journals in which it appears. I do not find, however, that any serious or well-argued attempt has been made to refute the main contention which my Postscript undertakes to establish; but, of course, it was too much to hope that it would give entire satisfaction either to the adherents of the Church Union on the one hand, or to those of the Church Association on the other; nor could it be expected that it would suffice to dissipate the cloud of adoring incense which had gathered around Newman's name, and prevented so many, even in our Church's ranks, from seeing that, while they were idolising him, they were doing scant justice to the Holy Mother whom he, her self-appointed champion, had abandoned in order to throw himself into the arms of her worst and most uncompromising foe. Surely a feeling of loyalty and affection for our Church ought to take precedence of admiration for

¹ I may be allowed, perhaps, to mention that, in a very kind letter acknowledging my *Annals*, Mr. Gladstone, among other remarks, confirms that judgment. He writes: 'The passages in which you have minutely tracked the movement of Newman's opinions are, I think, not only interesting, but of great historical value.'

any man, howsoever brilliant his intellectual gifts, and howsoever faultless (which can scarcely be said of Newman) his conduct and his character.

But to pass on to another matter, one which will require to be treated somewhat more at length. I allude to the large number of letters from friends and others which the book contains—letters which, it is objected, have too much the appearance of mere testimonials in my own favour. The appeal made to the candour and forbearance of my readers in the Advertisement to my former volume, on the score of the necessity for ‘egotism’ in such a work, has been accepted most kindly by many of my critics, and some have even gone so far as to say that no such appeal was needed;¹ but others, and perhaps the larger number, have not taken that indulgent view. They would wish the quantity of such letters to be considerably reduced. I am not surprised at this; but I am not without hope that when I have explained the motives which principally led me to insert so many the verdict may be modified, if not recalled. The complaint has reference, I believe, mainly, if not entirely, to the Winchester period: in part, perhaps, to the letters of condolence on the death of my father (which appeared to be called for as the most effective answer to disparaging remarks upon him, such as those made by Lord Houghton, and published in his ‘Life’); but still more, I suppose, to the letters deprecating my resignation, or written in acknowledgment of my several publications.

¹ ‘As in all autobiographies, the author has to speak much of himself; yet there is in its pages nothing of egotism. It is remarkable, indeed, how little the author obtrudes himself on the reader, and how completely the latter is made to feel that he is listening to an old man repeating the story of his life in the simplest and most unaffected way.’—*Scottish Review*.

Here, again, there were in my own mind reasons sufficient not only to justify, but to require, the production of those letters—reasons which ought, perhaps, to have been openly avowed in connection with their publication, but which, at all events, it will be desirable to mention now. First, then, it is obvious that, if my readers were to be enabled to judge of the improvement effected by what I had endeavoured to do for the benefit of the College boys, the revelation must come from others rather than from myself. I could simply record the facts: the results, even if known to me sufficiently, I could not venture to describe without incurring the stigma of self-praise, and, it might be, also a suspicion that the description which I gave was exaggerated. But, more than this, it must not be supposed that my efforts for the religious improvement of the College boys at a time when the publication of the Oxford Tracts had excited so much suspicion could be so singularly fortunate as to escape misrepresentation. Unhappily, my sermon on ‘Evangelical Repentance’ had given rise to controversy, and Mr. Nicolson’s pamphlet in reply to it was not the only one in which my trustworthiness as a preacher of the Gospel had been called in question. The ecclesiastical atmosphere of Winchester was then in such a state that the sound Church doctrine which I sought to inculcate could not be carried on without liability to sinister reports, some of which would be ludicrous enough if they had not been mischievous. For example, S. Wilberforce (then Archdeacon) informed me that I was currently accused of teaching the boys to ‘worship angels,’ and he wished to know whether the rumour he had heard was true! I was able to assure him that ‘the head and front of my offending had

this extent, no more'—that when my class came to the striking passage in the second *Æneid*,

Excessere omnes adytis arisque relictis
Dī, quibus imperium hoc steterat,

I had pointed out that 'the heathen were not without a consciousness of the power of the invisible world, and that we Christians had much more reason to believe in the existence of such powers.' But a more serious scandal arose out of the report that I had wished to introduce in College the practice of private Confession. One of my ablest and best-informed critics, the writer in the 'Speaker,' who, I have discovered, was a College Junior at the time, and the tenor of whose remarks is, upon the whole, most friendly, has referred to the incident; but he has rather overstated it. The facts were these; and, now that the matter has been publicly brought up, it is well that they should be recorded, as tending to make the narrative of that portion of my Winchester life complete.—

When my health broke down towards the end of 1844, and I was sent away under doctor's orders, the Warden undertook to prepare the College boys who were to be Confirmed at the end of that half-year. Returning after the Christmas holidays, I felt that I had lost a precious opportunity for becoming better acquainted with the boys who had been Confirmed; and, considering how I might best supply the deficiency, and acquire the necessary influence over them for their good, it occurred to me to suggest¹ that

¹ The suggestion was fully explained in a Sacrament Lecture delivered to the whole body of the College communicants on the Sunday evening after Ascension Day, 1845. It was entitled, 'Apprehension from Increase of Communicants, and Private Acknowledgment of Sin Recommended,' and was

I should be glad to assist them with reference to their private prayers, so as to make them more suitable to their special wants, their riper age, and increased responsibilities, and otherwise by giving them advice such as their special circumstances might seem to require. This, of course, might, and probably would, in some cases involve the acknowledgment of previous failure, of what they had done amiss; and from such acknowledgment I strongly recommended them not to shrink. I had no thought, as I stated at the time, of introducing Sacramental Confession, periodical or otherwise, which is, I believe, unsuited for the young, and for the most part prejudicial rather than salutary even to adults, except in cases such as those in which our Church has directly sanctioned it. My intention was good; but whether what I proposed was altogether wise amid the circumstances may perhaps be doubted. As it was, nothing came of the proposal, some of the senior boys (who, as my critic states, ‘discerned in the scheme dangerous inquisitorship’) interposing to prevent its accomplishment.¹ Nothing came of it, except that it gave opportunity to those

intended to form Discourse XXIV. in *Christian Boyhood*. Upon full reflection, however, as the suggestion itself had been abandoned, it was thought better to print only a few copies, to be put into the boys’ hands; which was done (and a dedication prefixed, ‘To the Communicants of Winchester College’) after my resignation, April 23, 1846.

¹ This conduct on the part of *some* of the seniors, acquiesced in by the rest, elicited from me a lecture, addressed (October 12, 1845) to the prefects separately, and subsequently printed, ‘by order of the Warden,’ for their benefit, but not included in *Christian Boyhood*. In that lecture I earnestly reminded them of their duties towards ‘inferiors,’ as prescribed by the College statutes, and of the solemn oath which they had each and all taken to observe those statutes. The obligations thus imposed upon them bound them to aim at the edification and improvement of their younger brethren, and for this purpose, whenever there should be occasion, to report to the authorities whatever they should see and know to be amiss in their conduct.

who desired occasion for further detraction of my motives and principles—detraction which, some ten years later, after I had become Bishop, culminated in a statement put forth in an abusive pamphlet by a refractory clergyman of my diocese (in order to divert upon me the odium of ruinous mismanagement on his own part) to the effect that I had been nearly ‘the ruin of Winchester,’ and of every other institution with which I had been connected! I happen to know that that pamphlet, at the time of its publication, was to be seen exposed in the shop-window, and lying upon the counter, of our College bookseller. I do not suppose that he himself was aware of the nature of its contents: doubtless copies had been sent to him in the hope that my name, which appeared conspicuously on the title-page, might attract customers among the boys and Masters.

To enter into direct or personal controversy in any shape in answer to misrepresentations and calumnies of which the passage just now quoted may be considered as a full-blown specimen was, of course, out of the question. But, in looking back over the past for the purposes of this work, I could not do otherwise than recall them to mind, inasmuch as there might be some still living, especially in Scotland, upon whom such attacks had made an impression injurious to my character, and influence for good. And, if so, how could I repair the mischief, or at least disarm it of its injustice? In no way, as it seemed to me, more innocently or more effectually than by shewing the opinion entertained of me by those upon the spot who would be best able and most concerned to censure my faults, if faults were to be found; and not only by them, but also by others at a distance, of

various sentiments and positions in the Church, who at least could judge of my religious views and tenets by what I had written and published to the world. There is not one of the numerous letters in my 'Annals' the insertion of which may not find its justification in what has now been said. Even those which have no recommendation from the name of the writer, or on any other account, may be seen to be serviceable from that point of view; 'testimonials,' they may be called, 'and not history'; but, be that as it may, it is certain that they would not have been written, or that they would have been written in terms different from those employed, if the writers had believed that the complaints to which I had been subjected had rested upon any sufficient ground. I was concerned to show that up to the very moment of my resignation I had enjoyed the full confidence of the entire Wykehamical Body; and the number and variety of the letters in question prove this better and more clearly than any narrative could have been made to do. It may be alleged that the speeches introduced in Thucydides or in Livy are not history; but they enable us to realise, more vividly than we could otherwise have done, what were the motives and feelings, at the time, of the principals engaged in the several transactions to which they belong.

After all, the best answer to be given to one and all of the critical objections to which I have referred will be to print the following letter from one in whose judgment I can safely confide: with whom my personal acquaintance is, unhappily, and must be unavoidably, very slight; to whom I did not send a copy of the book; who could have no other motive for writing to me concerning it than that which

his own kindly disposition and sense of justice combined to raise. I allude to the senior Bishop of the American reformed Church, the universally esteemed and respected Dr. Williams, Bishop of Connecticut, who wrote to me as follows :

Middletown, Conn.

My dear Bishop of St. Andrews,—I have just been reading the first volume of your autobiography, and I cannot deny myself the satisfaction of saying to you how deeply I have been interested, and edified too, by the wording. Indeed, I have read it twice through, for I could not, on the first reading, stop to take it all in.

During a three months' stay in Oxford, in 1840–41, I had met a good many of those who are mentioned in it; and this added to its interest.

There is, in this country, a most unhappy and stupid prejudice growing up against the study of what people are pleased to call 'the dead languages.' But there is enough of old-fashioned scholarship left to appreciate your labours in that direction, and to enjoy the exquisite Greek and Latin verses which you have given us. I wish your testimony as to the value of Cicero's writings in forming a style could be read by all who are interested in education.

Let me also thank you especially for the admirable Appendix (shall I call it?) on the 'Oxford Movement.' I cannot understand the Newman-olatry, and still less the Manning-olatry, which has cropped out so in England. And I have seen nothing so calculated to put matters right, in this regard, as your remarkable *catena* from his writings. What a revelation is contained in his declaration, in 1844, that 'for full three years' he had felt 'a clear conviction that Christianity and the Roman system' were substantially identical, taken in connection with his confession, in 1843, that he speaks 'more confidently than he feels' about the Anglican position! Does not this justify what Charles Kingsley said? Or are 'assent to' and 'belief in' things that can rightly differ and yet co-exist? And yet, I fancy, in Newman's case the obliquity was more intellectual than moral.

I do most earnestly hope and pray that you have health and strength to give us the second volume; and not for that alone,

but for many years to come. I should think his Grace of Argyll must be in the category of those who have said things which, on reflection, 'they would rather not,' as Du Maurier says.

Believe me, my dear Bishop,
Your very affectionate brother,
J. WILLIAMS,
Bishop of Connecticut.

The Rt. Rev. the Bishop of St. Andrews.

So much, then, in self-defence; and I have thought it desirable to enter somewhat fully into particulars, because the same course which I adopted in my former volume, after due consideration and not without anticipating the objections it has incurred, I intend—*pace criticorum*—to follow in the volume which I am now to begin. In the matter of occasional composition in Latin or in English verse, I shall again have to hold the balance between the Specialist and the General Reader; but I hope that the latter will now have less reason to complain, in proportion as the contents throughout will be of a graver character, and such as to admit less readily than before the companionship of 'trifling' materials. I shall have to tread more than before over difficult and dangerous ground; I shall have to pass through periods and scenes in which party strife and feelings of hostility were too often exhibited; and, in seeking to avoid a controversial tone and temper as much as possible, I shall endeavour to explain and to justify the lines which I have taken, by letting others speak for me so far as I can, rather than by setting up formal defences in my own person. At Winchester I had seen, and felt in some degree, the working of party spirit on the Low Church side. In Scotland I have been made to see

and to feel for many years the working of the same spirit, and exerted with still greater animosity, on the High Church side. But—*laus Deo!*—that time has now passed away, or very nearly so; and I hope it will be possible to recall its incidents, not only without bitterness, but with an earnest desire to avoid raking up the embers of extinguished controversy more than is necessary for the simple statement of facts, with a view to the guidance, the warning, or the encouragement, of those who are to come after us.

It now only remains to record in this Preface a few particulars by which communications I have received from correspondents known and unknown, or remarks which have appeared in critical notices, enable me to amplify, substantiate, or amend, several passages of my former volume.

P. 20, line 7. Some doubt has been raised as to the truth of the statement there made respecting the cutting out of Lord Palmerston's name, but without sufficient cause. The following circumstances, which I distinctly remember, enable me to feel sure of the facts. From some cause or other, a panel in the old wainscoting had to be replaced. It was at the Head Master's end of the room upon the wall about the middle of the seats of the sixth form. It was not one of the large upright panels, but a small oblong one just above the basement. There was not space in it for above six or seven names. Butler wished to secure room (difficult to be found in any of the old panels, cut about and filled up so completely as they were with the names of boys of many generations) for Temple (afterwards Lord Palmerston), Robinson (afterwards Viscount Goderich and

Earl of Ripon), and, I think, one other; and, in order to secure this, he had the names pencilled beforehand; they were eventually cut out by the carpenter employed about the school, whose name I forget.

P. 24. The lady referred to on that page has kindly sent me a copy of my Harrow 'Vale.' It seems to me rather better than I had feared. The sentiments which I find in it, if they had no other merit, were at least genuine, and came from the heart. Here is a specimen :

ὡς ἐγκαθηβᾶν πόλλ' ἔχεις εὐδαίμονα.

EURIP. *Hippol. de Træzene.*

I

Fare thee well, dear Harrow ! Sorrow
Steals upon my drooping heart
When I think that ere to-morrow
Dawns upon me, we must part.

II

Long have I enjoyed thy pleasures,
Long thy useful labours plied ;
These have been my dearest treasures,
These, alas, are now denied.

III

Care with thee is ever fleeting ;
Tears, if any, fleeting too ;
As the Hours, Aurora greeting,
Sweep away the sparkling dew.

IV

Joy and Hope and Sport and Laughter
Soon dethrone the usurper Pain :
O ! my youthful heart, hereafter
When shall these things be again ?

V

Yes : till now unceasing gladness
 E'er hath smiled upon the past :
 This hour is here my first of sadness,
 For with thee it is my last.

VI

All that charms my boyish spirit,
 All that I am wont to love,
 Others now will soon inherit ;
 Others in my footsteps rove.

VII

When the waves of life come o'er me,
 And surround my fragile bark,
 Oft thy form shall rise before me,
 Bright, tho' all around be dark.

VIII

Then, as onward I am going,
 Wheresoe'er my course may be,
 Even the Zephyrs hither blowing
 Each shall waft a sigh for thee.

P. 32. Reverend Henry John Torre, who was at Harrow for seven years (1831-38), and whose 'Reminiscences' of those years have been printed by Canon Bridgeman, writes to me, March 14, 1892 : 'I was very much interested in your "Annals of Early Life" at our old school, and was amused to find the lines on "Greentree" quoted from memory, as mine were [given in his 'Reminiscences' at p. 47]. I find yours are more correct than mine, with the exception of "Richard." I feel quite sure the name was "*Isaac*."' He adds : 'Alas! like many other old wooden monuments, it has now been removed.'

P. 34. Lord Rollo has reminded me of an omission, which I much regret, in the account of our visit to Harrow. It had occurred to me previously (but too late to be remedied) and I had made a memorandum to supply it in a future edition, if called for. He wrote, January 18, 1892: 'The recollections I have of our very interesting visit to Harrow are quite the same as those you have given. The only thing that occurred to me is that it would have been interesting if you had added that we lunched afterwards with Dr. Montagu Butler, the son of the old Head Master who figured in the story, and who occupied, at the time of our visit, his father's place.' Yes, certainly: the kind and hospitable reception given to us when we called to pay our respects to Dr. M. Butler, whom I had not known previously, ought to have been mentioned. He had been a college friend of Lord Rollo at Cambridge. After luncheon he took us to see the Boys' library, erected by subscription in testimony to the services of Dr. Vaughan (who succeeded my brother as Head Master), and called by his name.

P. 67. The late Dean of Christ Church writes to me, November, 1891: 'Gaisford's letter to Lord Liverpool is confirmed by the fact that I heard it from Mr. Turner, a Christ Church man, who was Curate of Felpham, where Cyril Jackson resided after his retirement, and there heard it from the old Dean himself.'

P. 69. Whether the following anecdote is authentic I cannot say; nor do I remember when or where I first heard it. It used to be told as an instance of Porson's extraordinary cleverness and quickness of wit. I have never seen it in print; but it deserves, I think, to be recorded. :

There was in those days a well-known Canon of Ely, named Jeremiah King. Porson was staying with him; and one day, at dinner, when they had got into discussion upon questions of etymology, Porson gave a derivation which King considered to be so far-fetched as to be quite ridiculous. 'You might as well say that my name is connected with cucumber.' (Probably there was a cucumber on the table which suggested the comparison.) 'And so it is,' said Porson. 'How so?' said King. 'Why, thus: Jeremiah King, by contraction Jerry King; Jerry King, by contraction and metathesis, Gherkin; and Gherkin, we know, is a cucumber pickled!'

P. 72. One of my critics informs me privately by letter that the 'splenetic parody' upon my uncle there quoted was by Hartley Coleridge; and he favours me with another verse:

Unbought his works; his milk-white doe
 With dust is dark and dim;
 Our Bard is on the shelf; and O!
 The difference to him!

P. 80. A letter from Mr. Smythe of Methven Castle, November 9, 1891, contains the following:

'As corroborating what you say of the attractiveness of James Hope's appearance and manner, the following incident may interest you: In 1841 or 1842, Hope and I were both engaged as counsel before a Parliamentary Committee. We had been talking together previous to business commencing. Presently Serjeant Talfourd (author of "Ion," &c.), whom I knew, came up to me, and asked who the young man was with whom I had been conversing. On my reply-

ing that his name was Hope, Talfourd's rejoinder was, "I never saw so pleasing a face."

I have also had a letter from Mr. Henry Barnett, of Glympton Park, in which he writes: 'At Eton I was Hope's fag as long as I was a lower boy; and he was charming then, and a kind friend to me as long as he lived.'

P. 113, *note*. From a review of my book in the 'Churchman' for December 1891, by the Dean of Salisbury:

'The Bishop does not seem to be aware that the false quantity on poor Maida's statue was a slip of Lockhart's, not of Sir Walter's:

Maidæ marmoreâ dormis sub imagine, Maida,
Ad januam Domini: sit tibi terra levis.

So stands the epitaph.' Compare Miss A. Mozley's 'Essays from "Blackwood,"' p. 236.

P. 177 *sqq.* Not only schoolmasters, but many others, may be interested in reading the following extract of a letter from Cardinal Manning, October 4, 1891:

'There is one thing that comes home to me. If, when you were trying to get one uniform Greek grammar, I had known your need, I could have given you a living and personal example of the mischief of a diversity of grammars. My father sent me to a school which prepared boys for Westminster. I learned the Westminster Greek grammar. It was Busby's, not Camden's. When I went to Harrow, at Michaelmas, I was placed in the fourth form, and at Christmas kept back [*i.e.*, from promotion to a higher form] through the confusion of grammars. However, this

did me great good ; for, when I went home to Coombe Bank for the Christmas holidays, I got up every morning at 5 A.M., lighted the fire, and worked at the Eton Greek Grammar [then used at Harrow] till 7 ; made my breakfast, got on my pony, and rode up to Mr. Poulson's, the curate, beyond the church, by 8 o'clock, and worked with him till 9 or later. By this I got in line again ; but it was hard and discouraging work, and I felt the mischief long after. Your uniformity would have saved me all this ; but the getting up in the dark did me much good, and I have liked it ever since.'

We may see, I think, in this narrative the germ of one, at least, of the qualities by which the writer became so great and distinguished a man among his contemporaries.

Tu ne cede malis, sed contrà audentior ito !

P. 187 and p. 273. I was glad to learn what the late Dean of Christ Church told me in the following extract of a letter, October 31, 1891 :

I note two things which you may like to have for a second edition. The author of the review in the ' Educational Magazine ' was no other than myself. I think you must have read it at the time. I thought it was you who told me that it had irritated Hawtrey. I have no copy of it. The Editor was, if I remember rightly, Frederick Maurice.

The other matter is the excellent Aristophanic description of Swiss *ὄδοιπόροι*. Mr. Bayne, our College librarian, was at the Grimsel a short time before the Hospice was burned down, and, turning over the Travellers' Book, he saw the Greek lines, accompanied by a pen-and-ink sketch by myself. He copied out the lines, and I enclose them as he has recopied them. He is the most accurate of mankind :

χωρεῖν, καθεύδειν, ἐσθίειν, πίνειν γάλα,
 χωρεῖν, βεβαιᾶξ ὡς καλὸν κεκραγέται,
 κόντον τρίπηχυν χερσὶν οἰακοστροφεῖν,
 Γαλλιστὶ βάζειν, τοῦνομ' ἐν βίβλω γράφειν,
 ἄμβροφόρον ὡς τὰ πλείστα βλασφημεῖν Δία·
 τοιόσδ' ὁ βίωτός ἐστι τῶν ὄδοιπόρων.

My critic in the 'Speaker' also favours me and his readers with a full copy of the same inscription: 'Let us present it to the Author—it is well worth preserving—as transcribed by us at the Grimsel many years ago.' It is the same as the above, except that at the end of the first line he reads *πάλιw*, not *γάλα*. This involves a curious example of the danger of conjectural criticism. My Salisbury friend, who could remember only the three lines printed in Vol. i., had informed me that there had been a blot which obscured the word at the end of line 1, and that a subsequent traveller had inserted *γάλα ex conjecturâ*. I have no doubt I wrote *πάλιw* (with a comma after *πίνειw*), to go with *χωρεῖν* in the next line. And this is confirmed by Liddell, as well as by the writer in the 'Speaker.' I have also suggested *βαίνειw*, as being rather better than *χωρεῖν*; and in the last line, *ᾧδε*, as better than *ἐστι*—*approbante Henrico Liddell*. He writes: 'I remember now *πάλιw* was certainly the word, not *γάλα*. We used not to drink milk, so far as I remember; and *πάλιw* is for other reasons better; *ᾧδε* is certainly better than *ἐστι*, for all travellers do not act as the Swiss *ὄδοιπόροι*; but I believe *ἐστι* was the word in the archetype.'

I have received two other copies of the same verses. One of them is from Dr. Cazenove, of Edinburgh, who tells me that he transcribed them when he was at the Grimsel in 1844, the year after Liddell and I were there, and he

gives *πάλι* in the first line; so that the blot which afterwards obscured the word had not yet been made. The other is from Rev. R. Birley, of Hulme, Manchester, who was under me at Winchester, and writes that when he was at the Grimsel, in 1848, he 'found the verses in the Travellers' Book, and transferred a copy thereof to his Journal.'

P. 196. Mr. E. D. A. Morshead, writing in the 'Academy,' in a notice of my book, for which I beg him to accept my sincere thanks, has not quite understood what I meant to say when I spoke of 'backsliding' in the matter of the reform of Greek grammar. I meant—not that my grammar was not to be altered and improved, or even superseded by a better if possible, but—that I feared the great principle of unity for which I had contended, even more than for the merits of the book itself, a principle which the nine headmasters had formally accepted in 1866, had been departed from. The remarks of Cardinal Manning, given above, afford a pertinent illustration of what I had in mind.

P. 236. What is there stated respecting the learning of verse by heart at Winchester is remarkably confirmed by Lord Selborne. He writes:

There was another peculiar exercise in those days for the 'Middle' and 'Junior' parts of the Fifth, called 'Standing up.' This consisted in learning by heart, and repeating to the second master [in eight lessons] during the interval (which we called 'cloister-time') as many lines of some Latin or Greek poet, selected by ourselves, as each boy chose, construing also such parts of them as might be required, in order to test our knowledge of their meaning. . . . Very extraordinary indeed were some of those performances, especially when the age of the boys (seldom more than fourteen or fifteen) is taken into account. I remember more than one instance of a boy taking up the whole 'Æneid,' and

passing successfully through every test of his memory or his intelligence which the second master (and Mr. Ridding was not a man to be imposed upon) thought fit to apply. The most wonderful case of all was that of Henry Butler, a younger son of the then Earl of Carrick, who afterwards went into the Army, acquired early fame by the heroic defence of Silistria, and was among the gallant Wykehamists who died in the Crimean War. He took up and passed well in all Homer's 'Iliad.'

The classical scholar will probably be of opinion that the interesting fact thus recorded may claim to go some way towards settling the controversy respecting the Homeric authorship of that poem. In my own experience as second master, the most remarkable feat of the same kind which I remember was the repetition, in one lesson, of a whole Greek play by Henry Furneaux, afterwards Fellow and Tutor of Corpus.

P. 325. One of my reviewers, whose sympathies, apparently, are more with the Roman Cardinal than with the Church of England, writes, not very kindly—and, as I shall show, not very justly—with reference to what is there said of my correspondence with Newman: 'In reality, Newman and he [Wordsworth] were nothing to each other, and the note and present were little likely to have any effect on Newman's mind.' The fairness of that remark will best be seen by the following extract from a letter, dated November 5, 1891, which I received quite unexpectedly from Newman's confidential friend and literary executor, Father Neville (personally unknown to me). He had seen in my 'Annals' the expression of my regret that I had not taken and preserved a copy of the reply which I wrote to Newman's note there printed (p. 325); but he confounded that reply with my former letter (proposing the

present of the Wetstein), and, supposing *that* to be the one which I wished to have, he most kindly took the trouble of copying it out, and sent it to me, favouring me at the same time with these, among other, remarks from himself, which, as well as the transcript, I was very thankful to receive :

I have wished to tell you of the Cardinal's leave-taking of your Wetstein—indeed, of yourself through it—in the May before his death ; but, since, among other reasons, neither his voice nor the sight of his acts can accompany my writing, I will not make mention of the details of that occasion ; but I may truly say that from the day you made him the present till the last year of his life Wetstein scarcely ever failed, at least once in the year, to bring you to his kind memory. . . . I cannot offer to send you your autograph letter, for the Cardinal fastened it into Vol. i., and long, long ago he placed the two volumes in the Library which he had built for his books. In a post or two, if not by this, your Lordship shall have the copy.

The copy, which was punctually sent, and accompanied with the transcriber's assurance that 'it had been great pleasure to give all the pains he could to what the Cardinal prized so much,' is as follows :

[*Inscription in the book.*—To the Revd. John Henry Newman, in token of affectionate respect and sincere gratitude, from Charles Wordsworth. Winchester, September 4, 1844.]

College, Winchester : August 29, 1844.

My dear Mr. Newman,—The death of a friend has lately put me in possession of a duplicate copy of Wetstein's Edition of the Greek Testament. I wonder whether you possess the book ; and, if not, whether you would allow me to offer you mine. It would give me the greatest pleasure if I might, altho' I feel it is rather obtrusive and presumptuous, and that I have no claim whatever to ask such a favour ; yet the immense debt of reverence and of public and private thanks which I feel is due to you makes me forward to catch at even such a straw as this to show, *if I may,*

but a spark of gratitude ; not—and, alas ! that one should be drawn in these days to make such humiliating protests—not, of course, as professing implicit concurrence in all that you may have written—tho' this too, I can well believe, is all my own fault and failing, rather than yours—but as desiring to convey the unfeigned duty, sympathy, and most affectionate respect which I should be ashamed of myself if I did not entertain, and seek to express, towards one who has been so great a spiritual benefactor to all his brethren.

I am, dear Mr. Newman,

Yours ever most faithful and obliged,

C. WORDSWORTH.

The reader will now be able to judge how far my reviewer was justified in his remark that Newman and I were nothing to each other.

Father Neville afterwards favoured me with another letter, in which he informed me that he had been a pupil at Winchester when I was second master ; and, after mentioning several interesting incidents of that time, and of my efforts for the good of the boys, which he remembered, he was so kind as to add : ' You have not done yourself full justice. But I feel I must have already seemed to you to be taking a liberty in saying so much ; which, however, has been to me irrepressible from the interest your " Annals " have afforded me.'

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ANNALS OF MY LIFE

1847-1856

CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION ¹

Episcopacy in Scotland—Fear of Puseyism—Presbyterian Apprehensions

THE foundation of Trinity College was among the first signs of renewed vitality and energy in the Episcopal Church of Scotland in the early part of the present century. Some of my readers may not be sufficiently acquainted with the main causes of its depression previously. Those causes did

¹ *Publications during the Glenalmond period :*

1. Sermon preached at the Consecration of St. Andrew's Chapel, Fasque, August 29, 1847.
2. Address at Special Diocesan Synod on Mr. Palmer's Appeal, March 27, 1849.
3. Letter to the Right Rev. Primus, W. Skinner, on the question of Passive Communion. (For private circulation.) May 1849.
4. Seven Letters to the *Guardian*. 1850.
5. Letter to the Right Rev. Bishop Torry. 1850.
6. Sermon on Ps. cxiii. 9, on occasion of Offertory for Trinity College. 1850.
7. Sermon on Matt. xxviii. 18-20, 'National Christianity an Article of the Christian Faith,' preached at Kidderminster, September 10, 1851.
8. Letter to the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P., on the Doctrine of 'Religious Liberty.' 1852.
9. Address at Diocesan Synod on 'Lay Membership in Church Synods,' June 16, 1852.
10. Sermon on 2 Cor. vi. 3, at Special Diocesan Synod, April 6, 1853.
11. Statutes of St. Ninian's, Perth, with Bishop's Address at Diocesan Synod, July 6, 1853.
12. St. Andrew's Tracts, No. 1, 'Ad Ministros.' Reprint of Bingham's Chapter on 'Union and Communion in the Ancient Church.' April 1854.
13. Lecture 'On the Appointment of a Day for National Humiliation, and on the Difficulties of the Education Question,' delivered in City Hall,

not lie in any fault alleged against the nature and origin of Episcopacy itself. The complaint was against Popery. It is true that the national Bishops of Scotland, like the prelates in Europe generally, had sacrificed their independence in lending themselves to that corrupt system, and that Prelacy had thus become identified with Popery in the popular mind. It is also true that, subsequently to the Reformation, when Episcopacy, apart from Popery, had been set up once (in 1610) and again (in 1660), the Bishops allowed themselves to be made too much the instruments of arbitrary despotism under the Stewart Kings. When the Revolution came, in 1690, Episcopacy was rejected, and Presbytery was set up in its place, upon the plea that the nation had been reformed from Popery, not by Bishops, but by Presbyters, and that prelatical power had been exercised in a way that made it obnoxious and 'insupportable' to the people. Nor was this all. When the Revolution took effect, and Episcopacy had been disestablished, the Bishops as a body, rightly or wrongly, took upon themselves to withstand the national will, as signified by the Revolution settlement, and aimed secretly at restoring both the Stewart dynasty (now avowedly Papal) and their own authority through rebellious means—once, twice, thrice resorted to—and so brought down upon themselves and upon their Church penal statutes which, whilst certainly not unprovoked, were cruel and excessive. Then the Episcopal Church, for more than a century, occupied what must be called a false position.¹ It was rapidly sinking through loss of member-

Perth, May 4, 1854 (subsequently reprinted under title, 'What is National Humiliation without National Repentance?').

14. Sermons preached at Trinity College, Glenalmond (of the twenty-four, seven by me), chiefly edited by Mr. Barry, sub-Warden. 1854.
15. Numerous Articles in the *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*. 1851-53.

¹ Even Dr. Neale, High Churchman as he was, in his *Life of Bishop Torry*, condemns the conduct of the Bishops as 'unconscious Erastianism.' We must own that their conscience was mistaken, and their sacrifice

ship when, after the accession of George III., in 1760, feelings upon both sides became more reasonable. Reconciliation was effected before the end of the century: the Bishops consenting to pray for the reigning family, and the penal statutes being thereupon repealed (1792). When it is considered how severe those statutes were—how they ordered all Episcopal ‘meeting-houses’ to be shut up, and forbade the assembling in any dwelling-house of more than four persons besides the family for divine worship (under heavy penalties); how they further forbade Episcopal ministers to perform baptisms or marriages, and attempted to put an end altogether to Episcopal ordination;—when these things (and more might be added) are taken into account, it will be seen that the depression of our Church, the extent of which may be estimated from the fact that the number of its Bishops was reduced to six, and its membership to a scattered remnant of less than fifty congregations, is abundantly accounted for.

Meanwhile there had grown up another body, which became, before the close of the century, scarcely, if at all, less numerous—the body of so-called ‘English,’ or ‘qualified,’ congregations: that is, of persons, mostly Scotch, who, accepting the Revolution settlement, and consequently not being non-jurors, and preferring Liturgical to Presbyterian worship, were content to place themselves within the law, and so to employ the services of clergymen ordained in England or in Ireland as the law required; but who, of course (through no fault of their own), could not be in communion with the Bishops, who *were* non-jurors, so long

unneded. The early Church had not so learned Christ as in any way to connect the well-being of His Kingdom with any imaginary Divine Right of Earthly Sovereign, King, Cæsar, or Chief of a Republic; she acquiesced in their *de facto* power—the powers that be—not that *ought* to be ‘ordained of God’ (p. xx.). And I have heard upon good authority that Bishop Forbes (of Brechin) was wont to express himself to the same effect.

as they remained such.¹ When that unhappy state of things had come to an end it was generally felt that the fiction of Episcopalians without Episcopacy, howsoever necessary before, was no longer justifiable amid the altered circumstances. The greater part of the congregations, following the example set (under Mr. Sandford's influence) by St. John's, Edinburgh, very properly abandoned their independent position, and placed themselves under the jurisdiction of the Bishops of their respective localities—a coalition which at once greatly strengthened the position and nearly doubled the membership of the reviving Church. Thus, the main causes of its depression having been removed, there was no longer any reason why Episcopacy should not seek to reappear in its true character, and to put forth its legitimate claims. There was a wide field for the exercise of all its energies in endeavouring to recover, for the nation's benefit, the position it had lost. Episcopalians were then—they still are—little more than 3 per cent. of the population. The majority of the people—some 80 per cent.—were Presbyterians, who are now distributed among three

¹ See my *Seven Letters to the 'Guardian,'* p. 32 sq.: 'In consequence of this intolerant and wicked Act (1748), which forbade the Bishops and clergy of Scottish orders to assemble and meet together with their people for the public worship of Almighty God, congregations had been formed and chapels had sprung up in a state of schism, because not in communion with the native Bishops. These were called "English," or "qualified," congregations; not that they were really English, for they were formed by and for the benefit of Scottish subjects who, not being Jacobites, scrupled not to take the oaths of allegiance which the State required; and they were served not by English clergy, but, as our indigenous historians distinctly state, by Scotsmen (see Skinner's [senior] *History*, ii. p. 72; Skinner's [junior] *Annals*, pp. 81, 172, 241)—"by numbers of young students of various professions who went up to England"; "by young Scottish students who felt themselves at a loss for other occupation," and who were allowed to obtain English or Irish orders, but without any claim of allegiance from the English or Irish Church. What could those sister-Churches have done more? It was, no doubt, an unhappy, most unhappy, state of things, but far better than the only alternative which would ordinarily present itself,—viz., that such congregations should have become Presbyterian.'

principal denominations—Established, Free Church, and United Presbyterians,—of whom the first are about equivalent in number to the other two combined. It must be said, however, that in each of the three bodies a considerable proportion of the more intelligent Presbyterians sit very loosely to their profession *as such*. They retain the same aversion from Popery, and from what they understand as Sacerdotalism; the same repugnance to arbitrary power in any shape; the same jealousy of interference with their spiritual freedom for which Presbytery has been so honourably distinguished in the past; but the Puritan and Covenanting notion that an organisation of parity in the ministry alone is Scriptural, and as such must be contended for and maintained at all cost, has been for the most part altogether abandoned, and the prevailing sentiment in regard to Church government appears to be that

Whate'er is best administered is best.

I have said that the foundation of Trinity College was among the first signs of the revival of the Episcopal body. It was not actually the first. It had been preceded by the Church Society, set on foot, in 1838, mainly through the exertions of Dean Ramsay (to whom the lasting gratitude of all Churchmen is due), in order to give aid towards supporting the clergy, most of whose stipends, given by small congregations, were miserably insufficient. A second measure, which, two years later (1840), helped on the revival was the passing of the Bill, introduced by the Archbishop (Howley) of Canterbury into the House of Lords, whereby the disability imposed by the penal laws which forbade clergy of Scotch ordination from officiating or holding livings in the Church of England was repealed, and the bonds of union between the two Churches were drawn closer. It was in that same year, or early in 1841, that the scheme of the

College was broached by Hope and Gladstone.¹ Perhaps the first man who was taken into their counsels, assisting and encouraging them in their design, was Dean Ramsay, he being in Edinburgh, and they both busily engaged in London.

At the beginning, and for several years, it was far from plain sailing; but, happily, neither Hope nor Gladstone was a man to be easily deterred from persisting in what he had taken in hand. Letters addressed to Dean Ramsay, which have come into my possession, will enable me to make my readers acquainted with the various currents of feeling prevalent at the time. In the opinion of Dr. Terrot—a leading Presbyterian in the Diocese of Edinburgh, and soon afterwards its Bishop (June 1846)—the matter which required to be taken up in preference to any other was that of the Bishops' incomes; and he certainly had much reason for what he urges on that point. He states: 'With us a Bishop's episcopal income is 75*l.*; his *chapel* [for each Bishop was then of necessity an incumbent also, and it was still customary to speak of our places of worship as *chapels*, not *churches*] upon an average, 100*l.*: or, say, 125*l.* In round numbers he has, then, 200*l.* a year: that is, a little more than double the *minimum* of the incumbents, and not near the half of the richer ones;' 'whereas,' he adds, 'in England, and also in France, the ratio is at least ten to one.' This was written November 11, 1840, very shortly before the Hope-Gladstone scheme had been broached. When he heard of that scheme, which, he says, 'has startled us (and still more will it startle the laity),' he still was of opinion that 'some qualified person,' and no one better than Ramsay himself, should put forth a statement to bring

¹ Gladstone himself declared, at a meeting of the Council of Trinity College held September 4, 1845, that 'but for Mr. Hope Trinity College had never existed.'—Neale's *Life of Bishop Torry*, p. 212.

the real circumstances of the Church, in regard to its pecuniary wants, before the world, a statement which might *include* 'the necessity of training up young Churchmen in the nurture of the Church, the want of a clerical course, &c; and thus ground might be broken and the attention of our better-disposed laymen turned to see the reasonableness of something like that which Mr. Gladstone proposes.' Nevertheless, the scheme was already making way. Gladstone was labouring hard to raise subscriptions, and with remarkable success; provisional committees had been formed, both in Edinburgh and in London; a secretary, or general man of business, Mr. Charles Reid, W.S., had been appointed; and, most important step of all, a Pastoral Letter—drawn up, I believe, by Hope—'To all faithful members of the Reformed Catholic Church in Scotland,' in recommendation of the scheme to 'their prayers and alms,' was put forth, signed by all the six Bishops, September 2, 1841. Thus, the Primus, W. Skinner, on March 10, 1842, was able to write to Dean Ramsay as follows:

What cause of thankfulness have we for the unprecedented success with which the scheme of Trinity College has been blessed! I have just perused the minutes of the committee at which you presided on the 3rd inst., by which I observe that a special meeting of your committee is to be called by the secretary for taking into consideration the various offers made for a site, &c. This is certainly a matter worthy of the most serious consideration of all who are interested in the success of the scheme, and I trust that nothing will be decided rashly on the subject, or without the fullest approbation of *both* the general committee and of the whole *Episcopal College*, as I really consider the success of the undertaking to rest primarily on the eligibility,¹ and secondarily on the choice of the Warden or Principal of the College, and his ability to carry out the principles on which the institution must be based. May we be mercifully directed by the same gracious Providence which has hitherto so signally marked almost every

¹ [Of the site.]—Editor.

step in the progress of the College, from the moment of its entering the heads of your friends, Messrs. Gladstone and Hope, until the present hour!

A fortnight later (April 1, 1842) the Primus writes again, evidently somewhat distrustful of what he himself and his episcopal brethren had done in issuing their Pastoral Letter, and alarmed lest their appeal for subscriptions for the College should interfere with contributions to the Church Society.—

The success of the College scheme is truly wonderful; but I really think we should allow it to work its way thus providentially and triumphantly, and not attempt in the present circumstances and excited state of the country to urge it on any further by collections in our different congregations, which would to a certainty interfere with and materially detract from our congregations' offerings for our Church Society. . . .

I approved much of your suggestion of some declaration on the part of the Bishops in refutation of the too general charge of the College being meant to disseminate what are absurdly termed the Oxford views and heresy, and will have the paper circulated and subscribed by my colleagues as soon as I receive from the Bishop of Glasgow his approval of the scroll which I yesterday sent to him.

He then goes on to speak of the several sites offered and proposed for Trinity College, mentioning one offered by Mr. Stirling, of Kippendavie, on Sheriffmuir, which, he observes, 'would form a very bleak situation'; and another by Sir John Richardson, on the banks of the Tay, in the parish of Errol, which 'would furnish by far the most pleasant as well as central site.' Dr. Terrot, it appears from another letter of his, was still harping on 'the preposterousness (in the derivative sense) of spending so much on anything till our Bishops are decently provided for.' On the other hand, Mr. A. P. Forbes (afterwards Bishop of Brechin), writing on April 15 of the same year

from Brasenose College, where he was then an Undergraduate, reports that the scheme is exciting much interest in Oxford. Two of the colleges, Magdalen and Jesus, had already subscribed 100*l.* each, and Canon Jelf, of Christ Church, is specially mentioned as friendly and zealous in behalf of the scheme, although somewhat apprehensive that it would meet with 'opposition from that party in the University who, on the ground of supporting establishments, are unwilling to do anything that might in any way injure the established religion!' There was another lion in the path, still more formidable, of which Mr. Forbes goes on to speak. The Primus has already alluded to it, and we shall presently hear more of it from Bishop Russell, of Glasgow. It had become plain that the feeling in Scotland appeared to require the Bishops to put forth a disclaimer to the effect that 'Trinity College had no connection with the controversy now existing in the South.' Now, Mr. Forbes, very naturally, was afraid that 'any such disclaimer might tend greatly to alienate those whose sympathy and good wishes we are most anxious to retain'—viz., 'the High Church party, who are ready to come forward in our behalf, and only withhold their names on the ground that their giving them might create a feeling against us by identifying the College with their views.' Consequently, he recommended 'caution and delay.' It was a case of sailing between Scylla and Charybdis. It is amusing to see how Bishop Russell deals with it. He writes, March 23, 1842:

If the Bishops are Puseyites, it must come by nature or inspiration, for I believe that five out of the six have not read the Tracts at all. I have seen the famous 90th, and the Letter to the Bishop of Oxford; and that is the amount of my reading. I will answer for Bishops Moir, Low, and Torry, that they have not read them at all. Bishop Terrot has seen but a few of them, and Bishop Skinner has never mentioned them in my hearing.

To defend ourselves, therefore, against the imputation of Oxford theology is like an attempt to purge ourselves from Muggletonianism or the ravings of Edward Irving.

Still, I admit that among the laity an undefined notion is afloat that we are somehow allied with the disciples of Newman—the result of insinuations circulated by the enemy—and that, therefore, some explanation or assurance has become necessary to remove the apprehension.

A few days later, on March 28, comes a letter from Mr. D. T. K. Drummond, a much-respected clergyman of the Diocese of Edinburgh, but of somewhat narrow ‘Evangelical’ views, which eventually led him to break with his Bishop, and to carry off his congregation into schism. We gather from it, as might be expected, still more plainly, that ‘an uncompromising and unhesitating testimony against the pseudo-Catholic innovations of modern heresy’ is required before the writer can allow himself to subscribe to the College, as hitherto there had been given ‘no guarantee respecting the soundness of Protestant faith and practice on which it was to proceed.’

Notwithstanding all this, however, it does not appear that anything was done in the direction indicated. It was probably judged—and judged wisely—that any explanation, any attempt whatever to allay suspicion, would, amid the circumstances, be likely to do as much harm as good. The avowed objects of the institution—suitable provision for the training of candidates for Holy Orders, and a school of first-class education upon Scottish soil, to be conducted on methods similar to those of the public schools in England—had been plainly set forth in papers issued by the committee, and also in the Bishops’ ‘Pastoral’; and no one could deny that they were both urgent and reasonable. The results of the appeal showed that they were felt to be so. The subscription-lists went on and prospered. They included the names of the Queen Dowager; of the three Archbishops,

Canterbury, York, and Armagh; of eleven Bishops, besides all those of our own Church; of two Cathedral Chapters, of two Oxford colleges, of the S.P.C.K.; and of a very great many of the leading gentry of Scotland—making up a sum of upwards of 24,000*l.* Thus, on September 4, 1844, the Edinburgh Committee were in a position to announce that the site offered by Mr. G. Patton, of the Cairnies, Glenalmond, which fulfilled all the requirements of being ‘in a central part of Scotland, north of the Frith of Forth, and removed from the immediate vicinity of any large town,’ had been selected;¹ that the design submitted by Mr. Henderson, architect, of Edinburgh, which provided accommodation for 150 to 200 boys, and for twelve or more theological students, with chapel, hall, &c., had been approved; and that the buildings had been begun.

A further step was announced in November 1845: the adoption of the Deed of Constitution, which had been drawn up by five advocates (Mr. George Dundas, Mr. William Forbes, Mr. Erskine Douglas Sandford, Mr. Adam Urquhart, and Mr. William Stewart Walker; of Bowland); under which deed nineteen persons (eventually to be reduced to fifteen, the present number), nine ecclesiastics (the Bishops and the Presbyters), and ten laymen (including Sir John Gladstone of Fasque, Mr. W. E. Gladstone, the Duke of Buccleuch, and the Earl of Home, but *not Mr. James Hope*), were made members of the Council in whose hands the government of the institution was placed.

Little more need be added to the sketch of the antecedents of the College which has now been given—given, let me say, for the benefit of my English rather than of my Scottish readers. The *Perthshire Advertiser*, in a series of

¹ Besides the two sites mentioned above in the Primus’s letter (p. 7), there were two others offered: one on the Murthly property, near Dunkeld; one by Mr. Campbell, near Lochgilphead, in Argyllshire, who at the same time promised 3,000*l.* if the College were built there.

able and remarkably well-informed articles on the Jubilee, which was celebrated on October 1, 1891, speaks of the College as having 'a peculiar significance in the history of the religious thought of this century, being one of the products and visible manifestations of a movement which is the outstanding feature of the century.' It does not appear that the writer is a member of our Church; but he shows as much appreciation of our circumstances as if he were, and his remarks are the more interesting on that account, and also because his memory carries him back to that early time before I myself had appeared upon the stage, or could be in a condition to speak of it from my own knowledge. He tells us that when it had been rumoured—

that the College was to be planted in Perth or its neighbourhood the Presbyterianism of Perth came up in arms; the Rev. Andrew Gray, of the West Church, latterly of the Free West, introduced an overture into the Presbytery condemning the scheme. . . . He spoke for five hours (!) on the Apostolical succession and the preposterous claims of the Scottish Episcopal Church, which went to the unchurching of all Dissenters. The matter was introduced into Perth Town Council, but with a different object. It was thought that the institution of the College would be a benefit to the city—that it would bring the moneyed classes to reside in its neighbourhood—and hence the scheme should be encouraged. The late Mr. Sidey was Lord Provost then; and he gave notice of motion that the Town Council should give a grant of 500*l.* to the building fund of the College, on the condition that it was placed in Perth. At the meeting at which this motion was considered there was a long discussion, in which Puseyism and Mr. Gladstone were denounced with much vigour. The motion was only carried by the casting vote of the Provost, twelve voting on each side. But, notwithstanding the opposition, the scheme made way.

The writer goes on to remind us that 1843 was the year of the great Disruption caused by the rise of the Free Church. The consequence was that—

opposition [to the College] in Presbyterian quarters gradually grew silent. The two parties in the Established Church had their hands on each other's throat, and they had no time to bestow on the aggressions of Puseyism when their own structure was reeling to its foundation. The Voluntaries were too absorbed watching the struggle to bestow a thought on the new development of Episcopacy. . . . It is curious, and not a little significant, that just at the time that the Free Church was rearing its places of worship as a rival national Church the Episcopalians were laying the foundation of Trinity College on the banks of the Almond.

The reader of my former volume has been apprised of the circumstances amid which I became the first Warden of the College. I had no desire to leave England. My health had broken down under scholastic employment, and I was not ambitious of the office which I was invited to undertake. However, I had resigned my post at Winchester some months before, and for the present I was disengaged. Hope and Gladstone had both been my friends and private pupils at Oxford. I had a sincere regard and esteem for them, and I was pleased with the idea of being associated with them in a work in regard to which I could so readily adopt their feelings and share their interest. It has also been told how, in the autumn of the same year (1846) I had gone into Scotland and assisted at the laying of the first stone of the chapel at Fasque built by Sir John Gladstone (September 8). It was not till the ensuing spring that the building was sufficiently advanced to admit of the school being opened for the admission of boys. This was called the Junior Department. More than a year had to elapse before the opening of the Senior Department, for theological students. It was not until then that my work was to be added to that of the school.

CHAPTER II

OPENING OF TRINITY COLLEGE—1847

Death of Dora Wordsworth—The Queen in Scotland—
Scotch Boys and English Boys

WHEN I arrived, with Mrs. Wordsworth, at the College for the opening, which was on May 4, we soon found that we should have abundant calls for the exercise of patience and good-temper. The workmen were not yet out of the building, and everything, both within and without, was in a very rough and unfinished state. Even the road of the main approach was in its infancy, and could scarcely be said to admit of traffic of any kind. The garden had to be laid out; and, among my various other duties, it fell to me to act the part of Romulus when he founded the walls of Rome:

. . . premens stivam designat mœnia sulco.—Ov. *Fast.* iv. 825.

I superintended the movement of the plough in tracing out the line of the fence which was to separate the garden from the boys' playground. It was still early in the year, as the year ranges in Scotland; and, to add to our discomfort, the weather was stormy and unkind. I think it was on our first Sunday morning¹ that when we entered our small drawing-room (we were occupying what were afterwards

¹ The sermon I preached at our first service on that day (being Rogation Sunday, Fifth Sunday after Easter), from the first words of the Epistle for the day (James i. 22)—'Be ye doers of the Word, and not hearers only, deceiving your own selves'—may be found in the volume of *Sermons preached at Trinity College*, p. 1.

the sub-Warden's lodgings, the Warden's house being not yet built) we were somewhat discomposed to find that the rain during the night had beat through the defective fittings of the window-frames, and made quite a deluge over the new carpets. However, we settled down by degrees to our work; and the interest which we felt in it, together with the novelty, and still more the delightful scenery, soon made us indifferent to the trivial hardships which new settlers in all parts of the world must expect to encounter.

We began with only fourteen boys; and that small number was soon reduced by one, who had been spoilt at home, and, *inter alia*, allowed to smoke. I forbade smoking, but without producing the necessary obedience: so, to prevent the spread of insubordination in our nascent colony, it became necessary for that boy to take his departure. Among the first to arrive—I believe the very first—was Lord Schomberg Kerr (now Marquis of Lothian), attended by his mother, the Marchioness, whose acquaintance I had made at Winchester through good Warden Barter. The two families had become intimate in consequence of Lord Henry Kerr holding the living of the parish next to that of the Warden's father, in Devonshire. In his speech at the Jubilee Lord Lothian entertained us with reminiscences of his college days. He did not mention, as he might have done, that he was very useful in helping me to unpack and arrange my books, which had come in sixty large boxes from Winchester; but he recalled with deep feeling the untimely deaths of two of his schoolfellows, Henderson and Russell, who perished nobly and gallantly, one during the Indian Mutiny, and the other in the going-down of the *Birkenhead* near the Cape. Among other of the earliest arrivals were two sons of Bishop Ewing, rather delicate-looking boys, whom their father brought, but could not make up his mind to leave with us, lest the climate should prove too

bleak and severe for their weakly constitutions. Undoubtedly, as I have said, the weather at the time was not propitious. The Bishop remained a week at the little Cairnies inn, to watch the result of the experiment. Happily, the boys throve, and continued to thrive as long as they remained at the College, like many others in after years amid similar circumstances, the air of Glenalmond being as healthy and invigorating as the situation is grand and beautiful.

To pass from boys to Masters. We began with a teaching-staff of three besides myself. Mr. Witherby, who had been an old and favourite pupil of mine at Winchester, and soon became a favourite of all in his new sphere of work, was Classical Master; Mr. Wishaw, teacher of modern languages (the only science in which we aspired to a modern side, an innovation not yet dreamt of for schools); and Mr. Plant, teacher of singing, and of writing and arithmetic to the junior boys. For reasons mentioned in my former volume (pp. 218 *sqq.*), I was determined that all the boys should be taught to sing; and the music-master's was the appointment which I had the greatest difficulty in making. At length I obtained the services of Mr. Plant, from St. Mark's Training College, Chelsea. It was against the rules of that institution that any of the pupils should go out of England; and when I pleaded that an exception might be made in my favour, and in favour of Scotland, I was assured by the Principal, Derwent Coleridge, that the thing was impossible, unless I could obtain the consent of the Visitor, the Bishop of London. Accordingly, I went to the Bishop (Blomfield), who told me that he could not bring himself to disobey the law, but that he would keep out of the way. Thus, I carried my point. The arrangement proved satisfactory in all respects. When the Senior Department had to be provided for, while I myself, as Warden, held the post of Pantonian Professor

ex officio, I was fortunate in obtaining the assistance of Mr. H. E. Moberly (a former Winchester pupil) as sub-Warden and Bell Lecturer.

As our College was designed to be distinctively a Church institution, it will be proper to give the reader some account of our religious system. It is scarcely necessary to say that the business of the school was daily opened and closed with forms of prayer, and that we had a separate service of prayer, morning and evening, for the domestics. Moreover, it was prescribed by an ordinance of the Bishops that we should observe the full daily office of the Prayer Book, and also weekly administration of the Holy Communion, by alternate use of the two offices, Scotch and English. Both those injunctions were strictly attended to as long as I remained Warden. They were, indeed, quite in accordance with my own desire, which was to carry out the requirements of the Prayer Book in all respects as faithfully as we could. This I thought necessary, especially for the sake of the divinity students. Accordingly, on every day for which Collect, Epistle, and Gospel are appointed—and so, not only on all saints' days, but daily during Holy Week—we had a sermon. On each of the three Rogation Days we used the Litany—on Monday and Tuesday as a separate additional service, and on Wednesday in ordinary course. As I had never attempted to preach extemporarily (my habitual nervousness, added to uncertain health from frequent headaches, was a sufficient impediment), and as I considered that my youthful congregation were entitled to the best I could give them, this composing of so many sermons, in addition to all my other work, was rather a severe tax so long as the preaching fell, as it did at first, almost exclusively upon me; but after a time I was considerably relieved by my clerical assistants, especially by Mr. Alfred Barry (now Bishop). It

may be thought that all this was too much for boys. Undoubtedly, it would have been so if the services had not been choral, and all the boys had not been taught singing sufficiently to join in them; if the sermons had not been short, and adapted to the special needs and capacities of the young; and if the portions of Holy Scripture had not been in great measure read and explained beforehand. As it was, I believe, in many cases nothing attached the boys more to the College than the chapel services. The result of their being all taught to sing and to join in all the responses, of which I made a special point, was eminently successful. I think I noticed that Scotch boys showed a greater aptitude for singing, and took to it more readily, than I had found to be the case at Winchester. Although chanting was a thing altogether new to them,—indeed, at that time it was scarcely known at all in Scotland,—they soon became, through regular daily practice, such proficient in it that Dean Torry, by no means ritualistically inclined, and rather repelled, as he confessed, by the intoning of the prayers, having been present at one of our daily services, wrote to me afterwards, as early as May 17, 1847: ‘The chanting of the hymns [? Canticles] and Psalms everyone must admire.’ In short, I believe it may be said that it tended to make the frequent services, which might otherwise have been felt more or less irksome to all, delightful to many, and really distasteful to few or none.

The system I have described as maintained during my own Wardenship has been modified in various ways and degrees by my successors, the modifications being suggested probably, in part at least, by the removal of the divinity students; and, as they have doubtless received the sanction and approval of the Bishops, it is to be hoped that they have been judiciously and wisely made.

The following letter from my uncle announced to me the death of his beloved daughter Dora (Mrs. Quillinan) :

Rydal Mount : July 9, 1847.

My dear Charles,—It is my mournful duty to announce to you that it has pleased God to remove from this world the spirit of your dear cousin Dora. She expired at a quarter before one this morning. Her bodily sufferings for some time past had been great, but were borne with true Christian resignation, and she retained the possession of her faculties until the last moment. Of her husband and your dear aunt I need not speak : they know and feel what they have to bear, and God will, I trust, support them.

With kind love to Catharine, I remain, my dear Charles,

Your affectionate uncle,

WM. WORDSWORTH.

You will not fail to give us the benefit of your prayers. Sincere thanks for your interesting letters, which would have been at once acknowledged but for our affliction.

Even as there are some who have ventured to maintain that Shakespeare was an infidel or an agnostic, there are some who have not scrupled to doubt the Christian faith of my uncle. That letter adds to the abundant evidence which can be brought to prove the character of his belief.

A letter from the Primus under date June 16 gave me his advice upon two points about which I had consulted him—the proper time for the dismissal of non-communicants according to the Scottish Ritual, and the application of the alms collected at the offertory. In regard to the former he wrote :

I thoroughly agree with you that the fittest, or, indeed, the only proper, time for non-communicants to retire is immediately after the sermon ; and such is, and has invariably been, my own practice. Before leaving the pulpit I read one or two of the post-Communion Collects, and then add : ‘ As the ordinary part of the Morning Service is now over, such of you as are not to

communicate on the present occasion may now retire,' concluding simply with the Apostolic benediction, 'The grace,' &c. In some places I have heard nothing more said than 24–26th verses of the sixth chapter of Numbers.

This answer will now be thought to indicate rather a defective sense of ritualistic propriety in more than one particular; but it represented what was the general usage of our non-juring Church during the last century. In regard to the latter point, considering our peculiar circumstances, he recommended that the amount of the offertory should be 'bestowed on what may be termed *pious* uses—viz., furnishings for the College chapel, Communion plate, stained glass, &c.—and that it should be put aside, as it came in, to accumulate for that purpose.' Eventually, if I remember right, the cost of the east window, some 500*l.*, was defrayed in that way.

In the course of our first Midsummer vacation I paid a visit to Sir John Gladstone at Fasque, having been asked to preach at the consecration of the chapel which he had built and endowed. During that visit the conversation which I had with his son William confirmed the apprehension which I had formed when he came to me at Winchester the year before, respecting the change which had passed over his political sentiments. In short, I came to the conclusion that his political career would prove to be a very different one from that which his friends had hoped and expected—so different that it would be impossible for me to follow and support him in it. Upon this very distressing subject I shall have occasion shortly to speak again. The consecration of the chapel by the Primus (Bishop Moir, of Brechin, in which diocese Fasque is situated, having died in the preceding week) was on Saturday, August 28; the Primus also preaching the sermon. There was a second service in the afternoon, at which I preached;

and the next day, Sunday, Bishop Wilberforce preached. It was desired that all three sermons should be printed; but, the Primus having frankly told us that his was taken from a volume of Bishop Hobart—at that time one of the most eminent of American Bishops—the pamphlet, put out at Mr. W. E. Gladstone's expense, contained only Bishop Wilberforce's and mine, together with a description of the consecration ceremony, in which the writer—evidently Mr. Gladstone himself—made a kind reference to the Warden of Trinity College, 'a gentleman who had but recently pitched his tent in Scotland'; the kindness of which I felt all the more because my sermon, upon the text 'Let all things be done unto edifying' (1 Cor. xiv. 26), was directed to the maintenance of principles in regard to the relations of Church and State which he himself, I had too much reason to fear, was inclined to surrender, and still more because, upon the same account, at the Oxford Election, shortly before, I had declined to vote for him. Before I quit the subject of the Fasque consecration, it should be mentioned that up to that time the Gladstone family had been Presbyterians.

The death of Bishop Moir had caused a vacancy in the Diocese of Brechin; and while the visitors were still staying at Fasque the train was laid for the election of Mr. A. P. Forbes, although barely of episcopal age, as his successor. I remember a disappointment which befell Bishop Wilberforce, and by which I was a gainer. That season was, I think, the second on which the Queen occupied Balmoral as her Scottish retreat. During the first she had not made up her mind to attend the (Presbyterian) Parish Church. Services on Sundays were performed at the Castle; but there was no chaplain, and Prince Albert himself, in that capacity, did all that was considered necessary. Bishop Wilberforce, being still high in Court favour (he

ceased to be so in the following year), fully hoped that he would have been invited to officiate at Balmoral on the Sunday subsequent; but no invitation arrived, and he came to us instead, bringing with him his elder brother, the Archdeacon. They reached Glenalmond on the Saturday, and assisted me next day—very opportunely, for I had one of my bad sick-headaches;—the Bishop preaching in the morning, and the Archdeacon in the afternoon. It was our first Sunday after the summer holidays, and formed an auspicious opening of the new half-year. In a report which appeared of the Bishop's sermon, it was added that 'His Lordship afterwards announced his intention of supporting the College to the utmost of his power.'

In those early days we felt we had much need of all the support we could obtain. It was uphill work. Prejudice was strong against us. The most ridiculous reports were freely circulated to our disadvantage. For example, it was said that the boys were required to play at cricket in their surplices: a *canard* which arose, I suppose, out of the fact that I made a point of their taking off their coats or jackets to play (and so their shirt-sleeves would become visible), which, strange to say—for I had expected to find Scotch boys much hardier than English—they were rather disinclined to do. It was also rumoured that we were intended to be a monastic institution, and that no woman was allowed to enter the College precincts, or, according to another version, to approach within a distance of some miles! When we began we were straitened in many ways. There was no Warden's house (I had to occupy, as before mentioned, the lodgings intended for the sub-Warden); no accommodation for divinity students, so that the Senior Department could not start until a year and a half later; and, worst of all, no chapel. Nevertheless, our temporary arrangements were very good in their way, and sufficient

for our present wants. In lieu of the chapel, one of the class-rooms was suitably fitted up; and so long as our number, gradually increasing, was still very small, we had very little to complain of in this or in any other respect.

I may be asked whether I was struck by any marked differences of character between Scotch boys and English boys. In the first place, then, there was an absence in the former of anything like the awe, even of the ordinary respect, which, if not felt, is commonly shown, by English boys towards their masters—an absence due, I suppose, to the innate independence of the Scotch character, but due also to the fact that in Scotland the young are encouraged to assert their independence earlier than they *used to be* in England; though, in regard to the latter, this perhaps may now be otherwise. I remember a gentleman at Aberdeen saying to me that ‘he had two *young men* whom he thought of sending to Trinity College,’ when he was speaking of *boys* of fourteen and fifteen—an incident which, some time after, led me to remark, in preaching upon the tendency of the age to push forward the young in ways that were not wholesome for them, that, whereas in the Bible we men are required to become as ‘little children,’ the disposition nowadays seems to be to teach little children to fancy themselves men: in other words, to antedate their years, and assume the airs and deportment of adults. In regard to the lack of ‘awe,’ as it came under my own notice, a certain reminiscence may serve to illustrate what I mean. One day, when a lesson I had been hearing was just ended, and I was still in the class-room in all my dignity of cap and gown, a boy came up, and without any consciousness of rudeness or of impropriety, asked me: ‘Please, sir, can you tell me where I can find some good worms? I am going out fishing.’ On the other hand, what seems almost inconsistent, a Scotch boy would often show a delicacy of feeling

beyond what is common with boys in England. For example, we had at Glenalmond a very pleasing custom, which I have never met with or heard of anywhere else. On Sundays or other high-days when I thought it right, as Warden, to dine in Hall with the other Masters, as we passed along the cloister, and came to the door of the temporary Hall, there were always several boys waiting to put into our hands bouquets of flowers, which they had prepared for our acceptance, and which they came forward and presented with as much grace as a laird's or a provost's daughter could show in paying a similar compliment to the Queen at a railway-station. I do not know where the flowers came from; but, I remember, one of my fancies was to endeavour to encourage a taste for gardening by assigning small allotments, along a border of the playground suited for the purpose, to any of the boys who would undertake to cultivate them. The institution, however (as, perhaps, was to have been expected), did not strike root, and after a short-lived experiment was given up.

If I endeavoured to introduce gardening in the hope that it might prove attractive to younger and less vigorous boys, still more did I desire to make full provision for the exercise and development of the bodily powers of the older and more robust. I knew that *παιδεία* could not flourish without *παιδιά*: that a cricket-ground, a ground for football, and a fives court, were no less indispensable than classrooms; and from the first equal provision was made for both. I did not consider it beneath my dignity to teach in the playground as well as in the school. I gave lessons in cricket, and also in skating. Not many months ago a clergyman, who had been one of our first boys at Glenalmond, reminded me that I had taught him to throw a fly; and it was the repute of me as an angler, I suppose, that may have led my young friend mentioned above to regard

me as probably an authority on the whereabouts of good worms.

Before I pass on to other topics, there is one more difference to be mentioned between Scotch and English which is rather surprising—I mean in regard to sentiment about bodily punishment. For us, the Bishops did not object altogether to its use ; but they issued an edict forbidding all exposure of the person. What would Dr. Keate have thought of such an edict? ¹ One would have supposed that the country more advanced in civilisation would have taken the lead in that matter ; but, so far as I know, there has been no squeamishness upon the point in English schools. In Scotland, however, notwithstanding the high Biblical authority in its favour, the rod, with or without exposure, has been altogether disallowed. Tawse have come into its place, whether with advantage or not I cannot undertake to say ; but I am inclined to think that the Scriptural implement, if either is to be used, is the better.

In our second term we introduced, in imitation of Winchester, the system of Prefects, by which certain of the upper boys were allowed, and required, to exercise authority over the juniors, under rules prescribed for their observance. It caused a little friction at first, as was to be expected from the independent spirit of Scottish youth ; but eventually it worked well, and was of great use in maintaining good order and discipline in the school.

¹ See Vol. i. p. 236.

CHAPTER III

OXFORD ELECTION—1847

Mr. Gladstone and his policy in Church and State

WE are still in our first year (1847), and hitherto I have thought it best not to interrupt the narrative of events more or less directly connected with Glenalmond: so now I have to relate that earlier in that year, some three weeks before my visit to Fasque, the General Election had come off. It is to me an incident of melancholy retrospect. Gladstone, who had sat as member for Newark, through the influence of the Tory Duke of Newcastle, was invited to become a candidate for the University of Oxford, and I was urged to allow my name to be placed on the list of his Committee. What was I to do? Could I canvass for him? Could I vote for him? There were many who tried to persuade me that I could, and ought to, do so; but his speech in support of Sir Robert Peel's measure in favour of an increased grant to the Roman Catholic College at Maynooth, taken in connection with what I had gathered from him in conversations at Winchester, seemed to me to involve principles which, sooner or later, must lead him to advocate the disestablishment of the Irish Church. John (now Lord Chief Justice) Coleridge, his father, the Judge, James Hope, Moberly, and others, having heard that I felt a difficulty in supporting Gladstone, all wrote letters endeavouring to overcome my scruples. To the first, who, as secretary to Gladstone's Oxford Committee, wrote requesting me to become a member, I replied as follows:

Trinity College, Glenalmond :

May 31, 1847.

Dear Sir,—I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, in which you ask me to vote for Mr. Gladstone, and further express a wish that I would allow my name to be placed upon his committee. I assure you it is quite painful to me even to hint the possibility of my doing otherwise than as you request. I have had the privilege of Mr. Gladstone's acquaintance—I believe he would allow me to say, of his friendship—ever since he first went up to Oxford as an Undergraduate ; and, with that knowledge of his whole career, it is not possible for me to think more highly of any man as to all the most essential qualities which give weight and value and dignity to character, whether in public or private life, than I think of Mr. Gladstone, and have ever thought of him from the first moment that I had the honour and happiness to know him. But—excuse me for saying what must seem egotistical, in a matter wherein it is each man's solemn duty to think and speak for himself—my family motto is ' Veritas ' ; and you will remember ' Amicus Socrates, amicus Plato ; sed magis amica veritas. ' In my humble opinion, it is utterly inconsistent with the true principles of the Constitution, and of the Government of the country as at present ruled by a Sovereign Protestant against Popery, and by Lords spiritual also Protestant against Popery, as well as by Lords temporal and by the House of Commons—it is utterly inconsistent, in my opinion, with these principles, which I hold to be true and sacred, to take any step whatever towards the establishment of the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland ; and therefore, if Mr. Gladstone is prepared to advance farther than he has gone already in that direction, I cannot vote for him.

I am quite aware that it does not accord with the dignity of a University election for the candidates to pledge themselves beforehand ; and no one could be more loth than I should be to see such a practice generally introduced among us. More than this : If there be one man among our politicians of the present day whose high character entitles him to be exempt from making any pledge, that man is Mr. Gladstone. But in the present unhappy state of parties and of policy in the country, when there is so much real ground for dissatisfaction and mistrust, I cannot but remember a remark which Mr. Gladstone

himself made to me last year. 'As things now are,' he said, 'considering what so many members of their body have lately done, the clergy must not claim or expect to act as if they were above suspicion.'¹

The remark, unhappily, was most true and just. And, unhappily too, it is no less just and true with respect to our public men of the present day. Considering what so many of them have done of late years, considering what Sir R. Peel himself did when he was member for the University of Oxford, public men cannot expect to act as if they were above suspicion; and I do think, therefore, that it is the sacred duty of every member of the University, more especially of every clergyman who has a vote, not to promise it to any one of the candidates without receiving beforehand some distinct assurance upon the question to which I have referred above, so as to prevent the painful misunderstanding, the disappointment, the mortification, and mutual upbraidings, that cannot fail to ensue in case the representative whom we are now to choose is hereafter found strengthening the cause of those whom we are solemnly bound to discountenance and withstand.

If you can give me any satisfaction upon this point I shall be most thankful, and, provided your answer is such as I heartily hope and trust it will be, you are at liberty to make any use you please of my name in support of Mr. Gladstone.

I am, dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

CHARLES WORDSWORTH.

Of the long answer I received from Mr. Coleridge under date June 3, 1847, the following is the most important part:

As I have not the honour of any but the slightest possible acquaintance with Mr. Gladstone, . . . I can only give you my own impression of what he feels, adding but this: that if I doubted the truth of that impression I should abstain from voting altogether. I conceive him to be as much opposed as you

¹ In a letter to me (July 9, 1846), after speaking of 'the sorely hard measure which the Church of England has received from so many of her own children,' Mr. Gladstone added: 'When some fifty priests (I guess at the number) have abandoned her, I cannot but feel that even morbid apprehensions are entitled to be dealt with in the tenderest manner.'

can be to any measure affecting the integrity of the Establishment in Ireland. I understand his opposition to any attack upon that portion of our Church to be one of principle, and that under no state of circumstances reasonably conceivable could he be brought to consent to anything of the kind. . . . I do think, and I have some confidence that you will think too, that if ever there was a man who deserved a vote of confidence from those who love our Church, he is the man, and now is the time to give it.

The father, Mr. Justice Coleridge, wrote to me under the same date in the same strain. James Hope followed, on June 28, with a long argument on the state of Ireland and the position of the Roman Catholic clergy, which he considered such as to justify Gladstone in his vote about Maynooth. He himself was evidently looking forward to disestablishment, at no very distant date, for the Church, both in England and in Ireland: 'Sooner or later her civil position will be altered, whether we submit or resist.' At the same time, he maintained that Gladstone, howsoever he might be inclined to temporise and to yield to some extent for the Church's own good, had expressly '*excluded* one contingency,—viz., that of his supporting such a measure, if it should involve any aggression upon the Established Church of Ireland.' My answer was as follows:

Trinity College, Glenalmond:
July 1, 1847.

My dear Hope,—You have done me a very great kindness in endeavouring to convince me that I may conscientiously vote for Gladstone, for the difficulty I feel about it has been a constant source of uneasiness and pain to me; as, indeed, you may well suppose, knowing, as you do, better than almost anyone, the very strong grounds of all kinds, public and private, which I have for wishing to support him in every way to the very utmost of my power; and if I shall not eventually do so it will be the most distressing step of the kind which I have ever had occasion to take, and one which I would gladly do anything that I could—without a sacrifice of principle—to escape.

For many years I looked upon Gladstone—and often spoke of him to others—as *the man* to save the country, or rather the nation; it was, I thought, almost (if I may speak so strongly) his mission from God to do so—to save it in the only way in which, I believe, it is to be saved (under Providence)—viz., *upon the principles of the Constitution in Church and State*. But in an evil hour, as I think, his faith failed him: fascinated by the practical ability and power of Sir Robert Peel, he lost sight of his own position, and at last, from the high ground which he *fancied* to be untenable, but *was* not more so than high ground has often been before in faithless times, and will be, no doubt, again, ‘he leapt like Curtius into the gulf, and, what is far worse, he drew the Church of England along with him.’ Such is the language which my revered father often used, during the last year of his life, in speaking of Gladstone; and you will not wonder that it made a deep impression upon me, knowing as I did the pain it gave him to speak so of one for whom he entertained the highest possible regard and esteem.

Had Gladstone abided by his own principles, instead of falling in with the no-principles of Sir Robert Peel and of the House of Commons, how different would have been his position and the position of parties at the present time!

But, not to indulge in painful reflections upon the past, what is to be done now? Are we still to have no rallying-point—no solid ground to stand upon? Let it be that we have no certain or clear principles for the government of our Colonies, circumstanced, as they are, so differently, and occupied, as they have often been, in unprincipled ways: is the same to be the case with the Mother Country—with England, with Ireland, with Scotland? Am I, at all events, as a member and minister of the United Church of England and Ireland, not to *aim at* uniformity in religion in the three countries, without which upon no sound principle can they properly form one kingdom? More especially, am I to help to aggravate our present inconsistencies by relinquishing still further the ground of the Constitution so as to render it impossible, eventually, for our Sovereign to be crowned or our Parliament assembled with any sanction of religion? With Scotland Presbyterian, and Ireland neutral (in the eyes of the State), what right, it may well be argued, can we have to claim the use of the Prayer Book for any State occasion what-

ever? Ireland has been for many years, and is still, in a most wretched condition, both religious and political—worse, probably, since the passing of the Emancipation Act than it was before, certainly not better;—and yet, what politician was there that supported that measure who did not assure us of a very different result? The fact is, no statesman since Perceval's time has even *thought* of acting honestly by the Church of that country. It has been established only to be kicked and insulted, and eventually robbed; and who, having any faith in God's Word, wonders that such a country so governed should be a thorn in our side? And what sincere member of a Church protesting against Popery can think that the true remedy for such evils is to be found in strengthening the hands of the Popish priesthood? But I beg pardon—some sincere members of our Church do think so; and others think that the Church might do as well, and perhaps better, both in England and Ireland, without any connection with the State. I can only say to both opinions, God forbid! for I believe *He does forbid*. Gladstone himself has taught me to say so; and as he, moving in the turmoil of politics, claims for himself to see political expediencies or necessities which I cannot admit of, so I, living in another atmosphere and subject to experiences of another kind, am bound to act upon them as I best may; and in this case I am able to do so with greater confidence from what I know of his own sentiments. Not a year ago, he himself told me that he had abandoned his first principles because he found so little support in the country, especially among the clergy. I answered, I thought he had done so without reason, for the support was *there*, and only wanting to be called forth. If he will now tell me, or allow me to understand, that he returns henceforth to his own principles, and means to act upon them on all occasions faithfully and unflinchingly, *he shall have my vote and interest with more pleasure and satisfaction than I can express*. Otherwise, after the conversation to which I have referred, he cannot but misinterpret my support as withheld from that which I approve, and given to conduct and to principles which I then described as *faithless*, and which I must still object to as strongly as ever. The unhappy condition of things to which you refer in the latter part of your letter I can see plainly enough; but yet I am not altogether without hope, when I consider what a change has come over the spirit of our Church during the last

fifteen years—a change still going forward, and which, if we have but one man of *Power* and *Principle* to fight the battle, as Gladstone *might* fight it, in the House of Commons, may bring about still more astonishing results in the fifteen years next to come. But, however this may be, I certainly do not think that we shall be likely, on the whole, to mend our bad practices by plunging deeper into false principles; nor am I desirous of seeing the Church *more pure* on the terms which you propose—viz., of the State becoming *more irreligious*. Rather, I protest against any such notion. What God (as I believe) has joined together, let not man put asunder.

I am, my dear Hope,
Ever yours most sincerely,
CHARLES WORDSWORTH.

The time came when Hope, whilst retaining personal regard for him, distrusted Gladstone's statesmanship as much as I had done. See his 'Life,' and the 'Quarterly Review' for April 1884, p. 503.—

When Mr. Gladstone had made affectionate overtures to him to become his fellow-worker in politics, the only result was that he respectfully declined, upon grounds which showed that he could no longer feel trust in his aims and policy as a statesman.

A fortnight later I received the following letter from Moberly, who, although a sound High Churchman, was a Liberal in politics :

Winchester College: July 8, 1847.

My dear Friend,—At the risk of seeming impertinent in venturing to offer thoughts of mine to you, who have thought and written so much already on the subject, I feel still unwilling to keep quite silent when I understand how reluctant you are to vote for Gladstone in the coming Oxford contest. . . . For my own part, I certainly disapprove of Gladstone's vote on the 'Godless Colleges,' and I am not sure, even though I acknowledge the difficulties of the case, whether I approve of that respecting Maynooth; but I feel that I am not specifically called on [? so much] to reward or punish individual votes as to select the deepest, truest,

most attached, most effective advocate for the Church and Universities in coming, and probably very serious, dangers. . . .

I think that your correspondence with G.'s committee has probably done great good. It is very useful that G. should know that there are those who are not well satisfied with some of his past acts ; but surely you will not press this hitherto useful course into the extreme result of refraining from voting.

He goes on to tell me that ' the Election will anyhow be a most close and narrow thing,' and he dreads lest

the advocacy of the University, and with it of the Church, should be thrown into such, not inadequate only, but mischievous, hands as Round's. My only comfort in such a case would be to believe that if a serious debate affecting the vital interests of Church, or of University, should come on, Gladstone, as member for an indifferent constituency, would be felt to be more truly the representative of all that is living, deep, earnest, and true in Oxford, whilst the actual legal burgesses would stand for the coldness, the Low Churchism, the jealousy, the crotchets, and the fears, of Convocation. . . .

Yours most affectionately,

GEORGE MOBERLY.

The following was my reply :

Trinity College, Glenalmond : July 12, 1847.

My very dear Friend,—I have been looking for a ray of hope to break in upon my course with respect to the Oxford Election, from some quarter or other, with more anxiety than I can express, and your most kind letter seems to offer something like an opening for it. Had I been in any other situation than the public one which I hold in what I may call Gladstone's own college, I should certainly have taken some step to explain *publicly* what I feel to be the difficulties into which Gladstone's friends are thrown when called upon to support him in this contest, not by his vote upon this or that measure (for, as I said in my letter to Mr. Coleridge, I would not press even the Maynooth question so as to ask for a recantation of what is already done), but by his adopting *professedly a new line of policy*, a line of *accommodation* rather than of principle—what Hope calls making use of the Establishment (in Church matters)

not so much as a thing right in itself, and therefore to be maintained at all points and at all hazards, and not tacitly maintained only, but loudly advocated and preached up in defiance of gain-sayers—making use of the Establishment, not because it is God's truth for the government and blessing of a nation, but as a *'vantage ground to make bargains from.* And therefore, when I am asked whether I cannot forgive G. for going wrong (as we think) once or twice, or whether I do not allow him to be a most able and conscientious friend of the Church, of course all such questions are beside the matter, which is, for us, to know before we elect him *what are really his own thoughts and intentions with respect to the present state of Church affairs.* Are they practically (for necessity or expediency's sake) the same as Sir R. Peel's? And, if so, do we repose such confidence (not in his judgment, for in his own heart he himself judges otherwise, but in his *moral courage and faithful intrepidity*) that we are content to take his words for the 'necessity' or 'expediency'—words which have no proper place when the question is one, as we believe, of Divine law? Or, on the other hand, as brought forward for the University, is he now to take fresh courage and to adopt a bolder line, and a line of the same character, but more lofty and more effectual (because maintained with more true knowledge and with greater ability) than that of Sir R. Inglis, for whom his committee ask us to vote in connection with himself, but whom he has scarcely ever supported in Parliament, and from whom he has disagreed on most essential points? These are questions which, I think (after what has been said and done in and out of the House of Commons), Gladstone ought to answer in some shape or other before the election comes on, and which, I still hope and trust, he may be willing and able to answer so as to secure his triumphant return, without any compromise of his own truth or honour, or of the principles of those who would support him upon the grounds that I should do. I have had more than half a mind to write to him myself, of course in the kindest spirit that I possibly could, for my own private satisfaction; but my circumstances, as Warden of this College, are so peculiar that I have shrunk from taking a step which might seem over-forward or otherwise unbecoming. But could not something yet be done, either by private friendly correspondence that would bear publishing, or in some way that

Gladstone himself might prefer, to reassure persons, like myself, who, upon one word of encouragement, looking, I will not say in a counter, but in a *more hopeful*, direction than his own recent acts and speeches in Parliament, would be too glad to restore to him the confidence in his championship which they once felt, and are still so loth to relinquish? You will not suppose that I mean anything like a mere blind Protestant championship, but a strenuous, bold assertion of the principles of the Constitution, however tampered with by recent measures, and however un- hopeful in the present aspect of affairs, with a view (however distant) to their gradual recovery and eventual re-establishment in God's good time as the only ground for a nation to rest upon with the hope of His blessing. The very fact of his own present position as a candidate for the University, with so large a promise of support, might enable him to speak in a way that he would not have done some months ago; and his return (which then, I conceive, would be certain, and could not be mis- interpreted) would tell in that case most effectually for good, not only upon his own future course, but that of parties in general; whereas, under present circumstances, if looked to as an expo- nent of principles held by a large and most important consti- tuency, it would in a great degree be unintelligible, or, at most, a proof simply of personal confidence in a good and able man. Please to think of this, as I will do anxiously of yours; and, if you can, turn it to some account.

I am, dear Moberly,

Ever yours, most affectionately,

CHARLES WORDSWORTH.

Acknowledging the above, Moberly wrote, *inter alia*,
July 20, 1847 :

I do not despair of you yet. The election will certainly be a very narrowly decided one. I know, tho' I may not state it, the number of promises given to Gladstone; but among all the neutrals or unfavourable voters there is none whose defection [?] grieves us all so deeply or disappoints us so heavily as yours.

Even my dear friend Warden Barter, who had no vote himself, wrote to move one in Gladstone's favour. I sent

him Hope's letter, and what I had written in reply, adding, *inter alia*, what follows :

In these days, the very worst member we could choose would be a man holding good principles, but without faith in them ; and such Gladstone described himself to me last year. As for Hope's argument, you see plainly what it tends to. The State is to be infidel, or what you please, in order that the Church may be rid of some real or fancied imperfections. . . . It is dreadful to think of the ground upon which such theories would land us.

The more I think of it, the more I feel it our bounden duty not to support Gladstone without some mutual understanding. He is at present a Janus in politics : an author of one school and a statesman of another. . . . He will be the most dangerous representative Oxford ever had. Round may do us little or no good, and he will certainly be no honour to us ; but he can do us no harm. There is no calculating the *harm* that Gladstone may do to us—or the *good*—if he will. But, if he is to take Hope's ground, it will, in my opinion, be all the former—all harm and ruin.

On the other hand, I was encouraged by my brother Christopher not to relinquish the ground which I had taken up. He wrote :

It seems to me that your correspondents do not consider that you have a character to maintain, and that it is of the greatest importance that persons in high, responsible positions, like you, should continue to enjoy the confidence of those about you, and of the public generally, and not forfeit or impair it. Let public men, if they see fit, change their principles and their practice ; but to call upon you to go with them in their changes, and to stamp your approval upon those changes by placing them in a most responsible post, and thus to involve yourself in their inconsistencies, and to impair your own influence for good, and to injure your own character—this seems to me, I confess, a thing which they ought never to ask, nor you to grant.

At last I mustered up courage, and wrote to Mr. Gladstone himself :

Trinity College, Glenalmond : July 15, 1847.

My dear Gladstone,—Having failed in obtaining the satisfaction I desired from the secretary of your London Committee, may I be allowed to apply directly to yourself? You will guess at once what my object is. You will be sure that I am most anxious to vote for you in the Oxford Election if I properly can. And that no possible misunderstanding may prevent my doing so, especially when ‘the circumstances of the contest’ (as I learn from a circular of your Oxford Committee *received this morning*) ‘have become so very urgent,’ I think it best to venture upon the step I am now taking, and let you know without reserve what my difficulties are.

The same circular to which I have just referred also requests me (by the resolution of your London Committee, May 15) to vote for Sir Robert Inglis. This, I can say at once, I am prepared to do. Sir Robert Inglis has fought the battle of the Church in the House of Commons almost single-handed for many years past. He has not always fought it, perhaps (to speak without presumption), just in the manner I myself should have chosen; but still he has fought it manfully and consistently, and he has fought it upon principle—the principle which alone, as I think, it is safe and right for us to fight upon (however, of late years, it has been invaded and too often betrayed by such as should have been the first to maintain and defend it at whatever risk),—viz., *the principle of the Constitution in Church and State*. This he has done in every vote in respect to Ireland, in respect to Dissenters, in respect to education, except that in the last case, where money grants have been concerned, he has been content to take what he could get rather than what he had a right to demand. Now, in two out of three of these most important fields of political action you and he have not acted alike. You have spoken and acted as if you considered the time *gone by* for taking such a line as his, and have concluded that the end at which I am sure you are both equally aiming—viz., the well-being and efficiency of the Church—was more likely to be gained by following a different course, a course which, without offence, I may call one of accommodation and of compromise rather than of principle. . . .

You and Sir Robert Inglis are (I am persuaded) equally earnest and sincere members and friends of the Church; but you and he, like Churchmen in general nowadays, equally desirous to

promote her interests and efficiency, nevertheless differ very much as to the mode of doing so. . . .

With regard to Sir Robert Inglis, I am satisfied he will in the main pursue the course which I think best,—viz., that of *resisting all tendencies counter to the original spirit and letter of the Constitution*;—and, therefore, I shall feel no difficulty in voting for him. May I be satisfied of the same as regards yourself? Do you think that you shall be found acting with Sir R. Inglis—I will not specify any particular question, but generally—upon cardinal points of Church policy? I would fain hope that you may be inclined to look upon things now less despondingly than you did some time ago, and that you may be encouraged, if returned for the University, to give your own original views and principles a further and a fuller trial, or at least may see greater cause to distrust the expediency of the opposite course, or may even resolve that the advocacy of the former (however hopeless) is the only conscientious line for the representative of a constituency chiefly clerical to pursue. In any such case my difficulty is at an end. My first vote will be given to you; my second, to Sir Robert Inglis. But should the case, unhappily, be otherwise, I am sure, whatever your Committee may ask or resolve, you yourself would not wish me, thinking as I do, to neutralise my vote at this, in my opinion, most critical juncture of Church affairs, by giving it to two very different, not to say opposite, courses of Church policy.

I am, my dear Gladstone,
Ever yours most truly,
CHARLES WORDSWORTH.

In acknowledging receipt of that letter, Mr. Gladstone sent me copy of a letter which he had just addressed to Mr. T. W. Warter. What I had said, however, he admitted, called for further answer. It would please him to give his answer in conversation. He was known for obscurity, and would have more hope of making himself understood *vivâ voce* than he could have if he used his pen. Only, he would tell me this: that what he had to say he would say more as a Churchman than as a man in politics; and I must forgive

him should he be warm. His warmth was such as could not wholly be accounted for by reference to his interests involved in the pending election. The concluding sentence was to me at the time, and still is, quite an enigma. It is quoted in my 'Chapter of Autobiography,' p. 9; and Mr. Russell has copied it in his biography of Mr. Gladstone, p. 84 *sq.*—

I am desirous, and by God's help determined, to leave at least *a recollection* upon the minds of men in your position; and the more so because I see pretty plainly that this is nearly, if it be not quite, the last election at which you will have the power to exercise a choice as to prospective Church policy.

The following was my answer :

Trinity College, Glenalmond : July 26, 1847.

My dear Gladstone,—Your letter, forwarded from Westminster, reached me yesterday (Sunday).

When I wrote to you I was intending to move southwards as soon as our boys left for the holidays; but when the time came I could not reconcile it to my conscience to leave our large body of domestics without a pastor; nor did I like the thought of the lamp of our daily service, having been once lighted, being allowed to go out, which I trust it may never do. So here I am still, left alone with my wife in my custodial glory, and likely to remain, at all events for some time—I should hope till the sub-Warden may be able to return and supply my place.

Under these circumstances, I am *unwillingly willing* to stay away from Oxford, unless I could go there conscientiously, heartily to vote for you, which, I fear, to speak honestly, I could not do. You are kind enough to invite me to call upon you, which I should have gladly done had I been in town as I expected; but—'failing the "warmth" and the "recollection"' which you good-humouredly threatened to leave upon me had we met in a personal conference—I am afraid I must conclude, from your letter to Mr. Warter, that the hope to which I still clung must have ended only in more bitter disappointment: that is, that I can no longer doubt that while I still hold, not by any partial or anti-Popish prejudice, but by the 'State conscience'

doctrine, you are more than ever bent, as a politician, upon the 'social justice' one, and you expect 'to obtain through the medium of Parliament real advantages to the Church' without asserting the high principle upon which those advantages (so to call them) are due from us as a nation—an expectation which I, for one, do confess I am 'content to abandon.' . . .

You see, therefore, that I am still so unreasonable as to prescribe that 'miserable,' 'mad,' and, 'humanly speaking, utterly hopeless,' course which you no less peremptorily decline. Yes—if it must be so—'constant irritation,' 'certain defeat.'¹ The 'ruin' of your policy will (it may be) be more distant; but I believe it is no less certain; and when it does come, being, as it appears to me, disgraceful and unblest, it will be *irretrievable*. But God grant I may be mistaken, and that you, having *seen* the truth, may have the glorious opportunity to which you are now aspiring to *do* it!

I am, my dear Gladstone,

Ever yours most truly,

CHARLES WORDSWORTH.

The day after the foregoing letter was written, and before he could have received it, Mr. Gladstone was called away from London, the state of his wife's health requiring his presence at Fasque; and on the journey he pencilled, in the railway-carriage, a long note which, whilst kindly submitting to me 'certain leading propositions,' made no reference to my difficulties. The consequence was that when the election came I did not vote. It did not seem to me honest to join in voting for a man, as my Representative in Parliament, who, howsoever estimable and howsoever admirable in other respects, would not only not represent me, but would use the power which I had helped to give him in a way which I thought injurious to the best and highest interests of the nation. At the same time, it

¹ These expressions, as well as those quoted in the former paragraph, refer to passages in Mr. Gladstone's letter to Mr. Warter, a contemporary of ours at Christ Church, who afterwards became Southey's son-in-law. What effect the letter had upon him I do not know.

must be recorded to Mr. Gladstone's honour that, much as he naturally desired to have my vote,—Mrs. Gladstone told me that my declining to support him was his greatest disappointment in the course of the contest—he would give me no pledge, he would make to me no concession whatever, in order to obtain it. He was returned, considerably below Sir R. Inglis, but by a majority of 173 above Mr. Round.

CHAPTER IV

TRINITY COLLEGE—1847—48

The 'Two Alexanders'—Expulsions from College—A Painful Incident—
'The White-rob'd Choral Band'—Canon McColl—Tidings from an old
Servitor

SHORTLY after the memorable consecration of the chapel at Fasque I had the privilege of preaching on another and still more interesting occasion—the consecration of two Bishops at St. Andrew's Church, Aberdeen, on October 28, the joint festival of two Apostles, St. Simon and St. Jude. In a letter referring to my sermon Dean Torry wrote: 'I cannot mention a higher praise of it than that I saw at least one of the heads of our Church, the Bishop of Glasgow (Russell), a man made of no melting stuff, moved to tears. May we all profit by the sound advice it contained!' The two Bishops were Alexander Ewing, for the Diocese of Argyll, and Alexander Penrose Forbes, for the Diocese of Brechin. The great interest of the occasion lay in that not only were they both remarkable men—genuine Scotchmen—and men, I may say, of genius in their different ways: so much so that their names and characters are probably better known and appreciated beyond the limits of our own Church than those of any other of our Bishops consecrated during the present century—but their divergence in theological views and opinions was also, I suppose, wider than that of any other two to be found in the roll of our Reformed Episcopate.

I ventured to refer to it many years afterwards—indeed, after the death of both—when speaking at a public banquet, on occasion of the consecration of the present Bishop of Aberdeen, in the same church, on May 1, 1883.¹ In my sermon at their consecration, I spoke of the 'two Alexanders' as 'men who afterwards greatly distinguished themselves, though in very different lines and schools of thought, so different that they may be quoted as exemplifying the comprehensive character of our Church.'

I have alluded to the same divergence in another form. The reader, I trust, will understand that by the following verses no disrespect was intended to either of my brethren. They are simply a *jeu d'esprit* depicting an imaginative situation, and suggested by the fact that my diocese lies between those of Argyll and Brechin. For both Alexanders I entertained sincere esteem, and for one the affection of a valued and warmly-cherished friendship.—

Two Alexanders on one fatal day
 Rose to the Church's throne, and pastoral sway ;
 Born to spread discord o'er the tranquil land,
 One ruled the Eastern, one the Western strand.
 Dark ebon locks dishevelled to the wind
 Betrayed in each the tempest-loving mind ;
 While gentle speech, and meekly-winning ways
 Disguised their aims, and won mistaken praise.
 Unhappy lot that brought me here to dwell,
 And bade me try the rising storm to quell !
 Attached to both, fain would I both restrain,
 A midway resident—but all in vain.
 War ceaseless waged. Great Sandy, King of Greece !
 Between two Sandies, who can keep the peace ?

To go back to Glenalmond. When the school reopened after our Midsummer holidays (September 7, 1847), the

¹ The request to me to preach came from Mr. Ewing (September 29, 1847), who, as the senior, had the right of appointment.

number of boys rose to twenty-six ; but with increase of numbers came increase of anxiety. The admission of newcomers was, indeed, the most anxious matter with which I had to deal. If we were to form and sustain a good moral and religious tone among the boys (than which nothing could be more essential), we must prevent the life-blood of our infant society from being poisoned at its source. It may be remembered how strongly Dr. Arnold felt upon this point when he first went to Rugby : how he insisted upon the power to expel or remove boys whose presence, from one cause or another, he considered to be injurious to the character of the school.¹ It was, of course, not possible for me to take so high a line ; but I did the best I could to carry out the principle, and in a letter which I had occasion to write to Dean Torry (Nov. 4, 1847) I find myself expressing my consciousness of the difficulty and of my resolution to cope with it.—

The fact is, I have come to the conclusion that it will be absolutely necessary to exercise some discretion respecting the admission of boys into this College ; and without this I could not undertake to carry on the institution. We began with admission of all sorts, . . . and the consequence has been that we have had already *a fit of indigestion* (as well we might with so much bad matter upon our stomach), which has nearly torn us to pieces. Seriously, it is a merciful Providence which has ridden us of three out of four 'strange children,' . . . and left the others untouched. . . . I must add, it is all-important for the success of this institution under present circumstances (*i.e.*, in its infancy) not '*quocunque modo*' to increase our numbers, but rather to admit none but such as are likely to bring with them *a good healthy moral tone*, and whose friends have really the welfare of the place at heart upon the highest grounds.

My correspondent was not quite satisfied, and I felt it necessary to reply to his demurrer (Nov. 8, 1847) as follows :

¹ See *Life* by Stanley, Vol. i. pp. 71, 111 *sq.*, 116.

You must excuse me from dissenting from your opinion that *our* 'net should be like that of the Gospel,' gathering of every kind, but with power to cast the bad away. By-and-bye, I trust we may be able to act upon that principle—that is, when we have got a *good sound body* of our own, and when we have gained somewhat of public confidence by *the results we have to show*;—but for the present you yourself, I am sure, would change your opinion if you had my experience, short as it has been. To expect to lay a good foundation with bad materials is, of course, out of the question; and in a country like this, where there is so little, or next to nothing (so far as I have seen), of mutual confidence, even among Churchmen themselves—and how much less on the part of schismatics and Presbyterians towards us!—to expect that confidence can grow up towards this place when we are to be constantly exasperating malcontents by cases of expulsion is no less idle. No: believe me, our policy must be very different from this for some time to come; or this College, and anyone who may attempt to manage it, will fall a victim to a state of things which it is not difficult to foresee, nor, I trust, if we are prudent and united, to prevent. The question which you yourself ask in your *P.-S.* very naturally is a proof of what I have said. You wish me to give you some account of the expulsions which have recently taken place; and this in order that you may be able to correct any false statements on the subject that you may hear. And yet you would have me to act so as to have occasion for more expulsions, and, in consequence, for more false statements and for more explanations. Whereas I can assure you that for three weeks before I went to Aberdeen (to preach at the consecration of the two Bishops), and every day since, I need have had *nothing else to do* but to carry on the correspondence that has arisen out of these and similar matters. So that I must really beseech your confidence; and, if you will kindly give me *that*, I am sure it will be of more real use than any explanation I might enable you to give. This is what we most want—a quiet, dignified bearing, under the consciousness that we are doing right;—while the practical admission that everything we do requires to be explained is of itself a proof of weakness, and must tend to excite rather than allay suspicion. However, it will be a satisfaction to you to know that all our trouble has arisen where we might have expected it, and *nowhere else*—i.e., from two schismatics and one Presbyterian; of all of whom we

are now happily rid, one having been expelled, and other two taken away;—but how much mischief they may have done beforehand neither I nor anyone else can tell.

In that same term (October 1847) there was an event which caused no little sensation at the time, and brought upon me not the least disagreeable of many troubles which I have had to encounter in the course of my long experience in Scotland. A prominent member of St. John's congregation, in Perth, which early in the century had revolted from the authority of the Bishop, and was now standing out against a renewed attempt which he had recently made to persuade them to return to their allegiance, came up to Glenalmond one Sunday morning, and not only attended our chapel service, but presented himself to receive the Holy Communion. What was I to do? I had before me a very painful dilemma. If I were to admit him to our Communion in the peculiar relations which he then stood to the Bishop, it was certain that many good Churchmen would be seriously offended, and not without reason. If I rejected him, it was equally certain that there would be an outcry which might prove very injurious to the interests of the College. I preferred to incur the latter alternative. I said to the gentleman when he came up and knelt at the rails, 'Before I can give you the Communion, I should wish to have some conversation with you'; by which I meant—and afterwards explained—that, provided he was not in a wilfully schismatical frame of mind, but regretted the separation, and would promise to do what he could to put an end to it, I should be glad to receive him on any future occasion. No explanation was of any avail. He was furious; and, although he had been a military officer, he could not be made to understand that the Church no less than the Army might have occasion for the exercise of discipline in self-defence. Angry correspondence followed, and, of course, the newspapers were not silent; but, amidst much

abuse, I had the satisfaction of receiving the warm approval of my Bishop, to whom, as the Rubric requires, I had communicated the circumstances. On October 9 he wrote: 'It gave me great pleasure to find that in the case of — there is an exact coincidence of opinion between us.' Writing on October 20, he repeated his 'hearty commendation' of my conduct.¹ Had the gentleman communicated with me beforehand, and satisfied me, as he might have done, that he was not schismatically disposed, I should not have rejected him, and the unfortunate occurrence would have been avoided. As it was, however, my action, I believe, had the effect of quickening the return of the St. John's congregation to the Communion of the Bishop, of which the reader will hear in the sequel.

On Thursday, May 4, 1848, we celebrated our first anniversary of the opening of the College, 'as a day of joy and thanksgiving,' with full service and Holy Communion at 11 A.M.: proper Psalms lxxx., lxxxi., cxlvii.; and proper First Lesson, Wisdom ix. The sermon, preached from John x. 22, 23, and containing a sketch of the principles of Christian education, is to be found in 'Sermons preached at Trinity College,' pp. 14–27. I composed the following stanzas on the occasion, in distant imitation of Burns:

*Lines on the Fourth of May, the Anniversary of the Opening of
Trinity College, Glenalmond.*

I

Now the glad morn her beams has shed
Where, down the Glen, by streamlets fed,
Swift Almond laves his rocky bed,
Sae loudly roaring,
What pile majestic lifts its head,
Lo! yonder soaring?

¹ In writing to Mr. Reid, the Secretary of the College, the Bishop expressed himself still more strongly in terms of praise. See Neale's *Life*, p. 328.

VII

The prayer is o'er;—now come they forth,
 Not mindless of their heavenly birth,
 Nor yet that on this sinful earth
 They still maun sojourn,
 Eschewing a' that is na' worth
 Withouten dudgeon.

VIII

Ah! think not, friends, their cup the less
 Will sparkle¹ to your fond caress,
 Or, temper'd sae with godliness,
 Will taste na' sweeter:—
 Who knew to save knows still to bless
 His lov'd, lost creature.

To explain 'the white-rob'd choral band' in stanza V., it must be mentioned that all the boys, as well as the students, wore surplices in chapel during my Wardenship. They were given up by my successor, perhaps wisely, although I do not remember that complaints were ever made by parents of the boys against their use. I had introduced them mainly because they formed one of the links which bound us to Winchester, and gave us the semblance of an old foundation. They are retained, I believe, at Eton and at Westminster, as well as at Winchester, but only for boys on the foundation; and, as we had properly none such, our resemblance was in appearance rather than in reality. In the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge they are, or used to be in my time, worn by commoners as well as by scholars, but not by gentlemen-commoners or noblemen. It was a new thing in Scotland, and was not likely to become acclimatised; but in church choirs it is making its way rapidly, and, I think it may be said, with general approbation.

I may mention here that on the last visit I paid to my

¹ See *Christian Year*, Second Sunday after Epiphany.

uncle at Rydal Mount, the year before his death, I pointed out to him that there was a mistake in the title of his short poem on 'The Narrow Glen.' He calls it 'Glen-Almain,' whereas it ought to be 'Glenalmond.' I said we should like it to be altered, and he promised to see to it; but the mistake remains uncorrected, even in Professor Knight's edition (Vol. ii. p. 342), although attention is drawn to it in a note: 'This glen is Glenalmond, in Perthshire, between Crieff and Amulree. It is known locally as the "Sma' Glen." I do not know that it was ever called "Gen [Glen] Almain" till Wordsworth gave it that remarkably un-Scottish name.' The fact, I suppose, merely was that the Poet had caught the sound incorrectly.

On June 7 came our first Confirmation. The course which I pursued in preparing the candidates was as follows: Public catechising, on Sunday afternoons after the Second Lesson, had been from the first introduced and conducted by me, with my 'Catechesis' for our text-book, a portion of which had to be prepared for each occasion. Besides this general instruction, I had all the candidates with me in class every evening for a month beforehand, and at last saw each of them separately. It may be mentioned, as a proof of my desire to carry out the requirements of the Prayer Book as fully and faithfully as possible, that I wrote to the parents of each of the boys to be confirmed, reminding them of the Rubric which orders that 'Everyone [of the candidates] shall have a godfather or godmother as a witness of their Confirmation.' It was a token of a zeal not, perhaps, very wise, or at least superfluous, as the practice, if it ever existed, has become too long obsolete for any reasonable hope of its observance; while in some churches, with a large number of candidates, it would not be possible to find room for such an accession to the ordinary congregation. The regulation was well meant; it shows a high

sense of the practical value of the ordinance ; and it would be good for all parties if it could be carried into effect. The following extract from the letter which Bishop Torry wrote to me, May 22, is of some interest. After informing me that Bishop Forbes had consented to act as his substitute, he proceeds :

The good Bishop hath further manifested his brotherly kindness and charity by meeting my wish to have the Confirmation Service administered according to our own more Apostolic form, which was universally observed by every Bishop of this Church within my remembrance ; although now, alas ! retained by myself only. The sole difference consists of the preliminary words : 'I sign thee with the sign of the Cross, and I lay my hands upon thee, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' And then follows, 'Defend, O Lord,' &c. There is a manifest congruity in using the Scottish form in the ordinance of Confirmation where its own national Eucharistical service is preserved ; independently of its closer agreement with primitive practice. I therefore hope it will have your approbation.

I readily consented to the Bishop's wish. At the same time, it must be stated that the good old man appeared to have forgotten that the Scottish Communion Office had not only no exclusive right but no precedence over the English in the regulations of the College ; and that when he spoke of the practice of the Bishops of the last century in administering Confirmation he did not take into account that the so-called English, or qualified, congregations had not then joined our Church, and that when they did join it they formed a body numerically as strong, or stronger than, the nonjuring congregations, and consequently the Bishops were bound to pay respect to their claims and wishes in favour of the English usage. It was a misfortune that in this, as in other instances, Bishop Torry not only failed to recognise the altered conditions into which the Church had passed when it ceased to be merely a non-

juring body, as it had been in his early days, but unduly exaggerated the points of difference between the two portions of the Church, using far too freely in favour of his own portion the terms 'primitive' and 'Apostolic,' and again the term 'national,' when it would have been difficult to prove the strict accuracy of any one of them. In regard to the term 'national,' indeed, it is only in a qualified sense that either the Communion Office or the Confirmation formula can be so spoken of, both being derived from English sources—the first Reformed Liturgy of 1549 and the service-books of the Nonjurors.¹ This, I say, was a misfortune, because, estimable as Bishop Torrey was in all other respects, his example was an encouragement to others to commit and persist in the same mistake—a mistake which greatly tended to retard the consolidation of our resuscitated Church, and still tends in some degree to prevent the full accomplishment of that consolidation.

The numbers confirmed were seventeen, fifteen boys and two servants; and all received the Communion on the following Sunday, with the exception of one boy, whose father, a Presbyterian, objected to his son becoming a communicant. Before the end of the following year we had another Confirmation, when the numbers were the same, with the addition of one servitor. The mention of a servitor requires explanation. It was part of my plan, in imitation of the School for Choristers at Winchester, to train up some half-dozen poor boys to wait in Hall and make themselves useful in other ways, so as to enable us to do with fewer domestics, and at the same time to give

¹ In my 'Seven Letters to the *Guardian*,' p. 31, I have called the Communion Office 'Anglo-Scottish' for the reason there given—viz., as 'having a twofold English origin.' On the Confirmation formula as 'borrowed from King Edward's first Prayer Book by the Usages party of the (English) Nonjurors,' see my Charge for 1890, p. 18.

them a suitable education. For this purpose I set on foot (September 6, 1848) a small school, which was held in the vestry of the chapel, and to which the poor boys in the neighbourhood were freely admitted and welcomed. At first Mr. Wishaw, our Modern-Language master, was so good as to take charge of it. Afterwards I employed one of the divinity students to teach the boys, and eventually my chaplain, Mr. A. Temple, became master. It was as residing in College, and preparing to become a divinity student, that Mr. Malcolm McColl, now Canon of Ripon Cathedral, at one time acted in that capacity. He will not, I am sure, dislike to be reminded that from that humble occupation, simply by his eminent abilities and force of character, he had been enabled to raise himself to fill the dignified position which he now occupies in the Church of England, and to acquire the distinguished reputation he enjoys. If it be as Horace tells us,

Principibus placuisse viris non ultima laus est,

that is a praise (among others) which he has achieved for himself in no ordinary degree. Although my intercourse with him had been suspended for nearly half a century, he has been so good as to send me quite recently a copy of his valuable work, 'Christianity in Relation to Science and Morals,' 'by way of reminder of six happy months which I spent in private reading and study at Glenalmond in the last year of your Wardenship.'

This is not my only interesting reminiscence in connection with our school for servitors and poor boys. About five years ago the then Warden of Glenalmond, Mr. Richmond, forwarded to me a letter which he had just received from America. It was as follows:—

Jeffersonville, Indiana : Nov. 24, 1887.

Rev. the Warden of Trinity College, Glenalmond, Scotland.

Dear Sir,—I notice in a paper sent to me by an old friend that you are going to give a lecture on Logie Almond. The writer is more than interested in this subject. I commenced the first work I ever did as a boy at Trinity College. I carried the mail from Methven to that place one season until they got the Post Office at Carnies. I was beside the old greyhaired man that laid the corner stone [of the chapel]. I always understood that he was the present Mr. Gladstone's father. I worked three years in the College as waiter and general servant [servitor], waiting at table, &c. Thirty-five years ago I came to America, and any news from the place where I passed my best and happiest days makes my old heart beat. I will go down to the grave with a love for the old place, and for good Mr. Wordsworth, that time will never blot out. All through my ups and downs I have carried the Prayer Book he gave me ; and during the War someone tore his name out of it, which has been a great loss to me. You will find my name in the old records ; and what I am I give credit for to the early teaching I got from the then Warden. If I only could get his name on the old book, I would send it back over the water for that purpose. I am looking forward to the time that I can visit the home of my youth, and visit Logie Almond. Should you have your lecture printed, I would be pleased to get a copy. I am in good circumstances. The God that Mr. Wordsworth taught me to trust in has been good to me and mine ; and I hope it is so with you and with all that belong to Trinity College.

Yours truly,

My address is

DAVID PATTERSON.

Pt. Box 1080, Michigan City, Indiana, U.S.A.

Surely this was an instance of casting bread upon the waters and finding it after many days. I sent him another Prayer Book as a Christmas present, with his name inscribed, and also a separate slip of paper with my name to be pasted in the old book. These he acknowledged in the following letter. The head of the paper bore, *David Patterson, Dealer in Real Estate.*—

Michigan City, Indiana, U.S.A.

February 1, 1888.

BISHOP WORDSWORTH,—

Reverend Sir,—I am in receipt of your more than welcome Christmas present. It is indeed to me the best I ever got in my life. I will have the leaf put into the old one as you have been so good as to send it. How this sends my mind back all those years! How they have, with all their trials, never been able to make me forget the happy years I spent in Trinity College. I am very much grieved to know that my old fellow-servant, William Ainsworth, has been blind so long. It is not very long since I found out where he lived, as I have been in this country many years, and in that time there have been many changes. Yet I am pleased to say I can look back all these years and not feel ashamed of any of my words or deeds to my fellow-men; and I THANK GOD for the years I lived in Trinity College, when you were Warden. I send you my photograph by this mail, and would indeed be pleased to have yours some time. Thanking God with all my heart for your tokens of friendship,

I remain your humble servant,

DAVID PATTERSON.

Of course I complied with the request in his last sentence.

On September 5, 1849, I began to occupy the Warden's house. On September 6 a second Pastoral Letter, signed by all the Bishops, recommended that an offertory should be made in all the congregations of our Church in behalf of Trinity College. It was only natural that I should be applied to by many of the clergy to preach the sermon on the occasion, and I did the best I could during the following year (1850) to comply with the invitations which were made to me for that purpose. One of the sermons which I delivered (from Ps. cxiii. 9) was published by request, and dedicated to the seven Bishops of the Church in Scotland. It contained a full exposition of the aims and objects which the College had in view, as I understood them, and which in my administration of it as Warden I endeavoured to carry into effect.

At Christmas 1850 H. E. Moberly left us, being called away by duties which devolved upon him as Fellow of New College. He was succeeded by Barry as sub-Warden, who had joined us early in 1849. Barry had won distinguished honours, both mathematical and classical, at Cambridge, and a Fellowship at Trinity College.

CHAPTER V

DIOCESAN AFFAIRS—1847—50

St. Ninian's, its character and tendency—Keble and Pusey—The Mission at Perth—The Cathedral Service—Difficulties at St. Ninian's—William Palmer and passive Communion—His 'Appeal'—The Gorham Controversy—Bishop Torry's Prayer Book.

1. *Origin of St. Ninian's, Perth*

THE burden of the various duties which devolved upon me as Warden was greatly increased by the part which I was called upon to take in the affairs of our Church at large, and especially of the diocese in which the College was situated. Dr. Patrick Torry, the Bishop of the diocese, was now in his eighty-fourth year. In those days, as the reader has already been informed, the stipend of a Bishop, without the addition to be derived from the charge of a congregation, was quite insufficient for his support; and the charge of a congregation suitable for the purpose within his own diocese was not always to be obtained. Bishop Russell, of Glasgow, was then holding the charge of Leith, close to Edinburgh; and Bishop Low, of Moray, Ross, and Argyll, the charge of Pittenweem, near St. Andrews. In Bishop Torry's case the incumbency which he had held,¹ and consequently his residence, were at Peterhead, which lies at a considerable distance to the north of Aberdeen, and about eighty miles north of the most northern part of his diocese, which he had not been able to enter for nearly

¹ He had resigned it in 1837, having held it from 1791.—forty-six years.

three years. Amid such circumstances, to keep a firm hold or vigilant watch over his clergy, even in his younger days, was scarcely possible. It was competent for me, as holding cure of souls within the College—there being no other clergyman nearer than Perth and Crieff, each about ten miles off—to become an instituted Presbyterian of the diocese, and it was Bishop Torry's urgently-expressed wish that this should be done without delay. Accordingly, on February 4, 1850, I received institution at the hands of the Dean, Mr. John Torry, who, in virtue of his office, acted as his father's deputy. The Bishop had ceased to attend the annual Diocesan Synods, and the Dean did the best he could to supply his place; but, although much esteemed for his kind and amiable disposition, he had scarcely sufficient ability or strength of character to discharge with much effect the duties which devolved upon him in that capacity, and at the same time there were spirits among the clergy who required control. The Bishop was well aware of this; and hence his anxiety to see me a member of Synod, in order that I might be in a position to strengthen the Dean's hands. Thus, I was thrown immediately—more, it must be confessed, than was desirable for my own comfort or for my College work—into all that was going on in the diocese. I was expected to take the lead of the more moderate party among the clergy, and to endeavour to check whatever was imprudent or extravagant in their opponents, as, indeed, the interests of the College required me to do. Of imprudence and extravagance there was no lack, as I shall have occasion to show in what follows. Mr. Loudoun, Mr. Chambers, Mr. Humble, Mr. Fortescue, Mr. G. H. Forbes, Presbyters of the diocese, were all men of marked character and ability, the last conspicuously so, as a self-made scholar and divine of deep and extensive erudition, especially in Liturgical and Patristic

literature ; and they were, also, all more or less deficient in sound judgment and in just appreciation of what our Church required in order to make its way among the mass of Presbyterianism—80 per cent., to our 3 per cent., of the population—with which it was encompassed. Consequently, they exercised but little influence beyond their own immediate adherents and partisans. Under my aged predecessor they had met with feeble or no restraint, but, rather, much encouragement, which, with imperfect knowledge of their proceedings, and of the mischievous consequences to which they sometimes led, living as he did at so great a distance outside the diocese, he might easily believe they well deserved.

I have said that the foundation of Trinity College was among the first indications of the revival of our Church ; and its success so far, although as yet insecure and on a small scale, was a motive to zealous and impatient men to push forward the Church's cause by other schemes for which the minds of Churchmen in general were as yet quite unprepared. Lord Forbes, then resident at Oxford, and the Hon. G. F. Boyle (afterwards Lord Glasgow), then an Undergraduate of Christ Church, had caught the spirit of the Tractarian movement ; and it occurred to them to start the ambitious project of ' a Collegiate Church or Cathedral, to be erected at Perth, with endowment of the Bishopric, and residency for the Bishop and for a staff of four or five clergy,' as it had occurred to Hope and Gladstone to start the far more practical and necessary project of Trinity College under the same influence. It was in August 1847—scarcely three months after the opening of Trinity College—that the said scheme was publicly announced, with the intimation that it was approved and recommended by Bishop Torry. I had already had some experience of the difficulty of raising further contributions for the College ; and it will not be

thought surprising that I looked with something like dismay at this new attempt, involving an appeal for public subscriptions while the buildings at Glenalmond were so far from complete, and before its financial position had been sufficiently secured. Where were the funds to come from? Neither of the principal projectors was then in a position to give largely, although to their power, it must be said—if not even beyond their power—they gave most generously. I believe I mortally offended Lord Forbes because I had said that, if he had found a goose who could lay golden eggs, I should be greatly obliged if he would kindly forward her to me when he had done with her. Trinity College still required another 25,000*l.* before it could be said to be well afloat; and here was a gigantic scheme, embracing objects all, no doubt, more or less desirable, but requiring at a moderate computation some 200,000*l.* to carry it into effect! In feeling as I did, it must not be supposed that I was actuated by any mere selfish or narrow considerations. I have before me letters from the Primus (Bishop W. Skinner, of Aberdeen), from Sir John Forbes of Fettercairn, and from our own Bishop's son, Dean Torry, which show that they all felt, more or less, in the same way. The Primus writes (June 11, 1847):

I had yesterday a long letter from Oxford, from my excellent friend, Lord Forbes, full of a magnificent scheme for the erection of a Cathedral (piecemeal or bit by bit) at Perth. . . . 'About 1,700*l.* is now subscribed,' his Lordship writes (but 50,000*l.* in whole is required), 'and if that could be increased,' he adds, 'by donations annually from each offertory collection, however small, it would bring a blessing on this and all the undertakings connected with it, and would be instructive as well as encouraging.' I have stated to his Lordship, and mean again to state, my conviction that all our energies will be meantime more beneficially employed in securing the completion and endowment of Trinity College. But let us descend from these Utopian heights to the field of usefulness and plain, practical points.

It is curious to read the remarks of Sir John Forbes, November 3, 1847, and compare them with what was actually done.—

The circular purporting to be from the Committee of the Perth endowment and Cathedral, which has been sent to me for revision, is somewhat modified and improved by putting the original extended plan at present on the shelf, and presenting the endowment [of the Bishopric] as the first object in connection with the Church immediately required. The objection still exists that the Committee is evidently to consist of Messrs. Loudoun and Chambers in effect, instead of their keeping to their own resolution at Mulhill, that the clergy, and themselves in particular, should in no shape actively appear in the matter; that there is not as yet a Perthshire proprietor ostensibly connected with the scheme; and that its benevolent originator [who belonged to the Aberdeen Diocese, but was non-resident] stands for the embodiment of this, which should be a national, undertaking.

The 'chimerical' nature (so Dean Torry called it, November 7) of the scheme was not, however, the only cause of my own embarrassment. It was natural that we should wish to stand on friendly terms, as far as possible, with a neighbouring institution of such a character, and recommended, as it was, by the Bishop of the Diocese; but the suspicion of extreme Church tendencies, from which we ourselves had not escaped, was greatly accentuated through the advanced position which the chief promoters of the Cathedral were understood to occupy, and made, indeed, no attempt to conceal. In my former volume I offered some remarks on the Oxford Movement up to the time of Newman's secession, when Pusey naturally became its leader, and stamped it with his name. It is a subject upon which I have no desire to say more. A man must be strangely self-sufficient and strangely arrogant who does not feel distressed at finding himself in any way at variance with men of such commanding influence, of such great learning and ability,

and, above all, of such saintly character, as Pusey and Keble. Still, these 'Annals' would exhibit a very imperfect reflection of the time and events which they profess to represent if I were to shrink from recording my estimate of the action of those whose influence, secret or avowed, tended more than anything else to aggravate the difficulties with which I had to contend for many years, both before and after I became Bishop. To trace the matter to its source: The more the leaders were discountenanced by authorities in England, the more they looked to our Scottish Church as the field in which they were to carry on their operations, as the soil in which they might still hope to see the growth of their opinions and the success of their cause. I remember Keble saying to me that he had accepted the offer of a Canonry in Cumbrae Cathedral—another project set on foot by Mr. G. Boyle about the same time, and then also in its infancy—as a place of refuge to which he might retire when he and his friends were driven out from Oxford, and (I think he added) from the Church of England. On the other hand, there were Scottish High Churchmen who seemed to be content that their independent Church should become an outpost or mere appanage of Puseyism. With such a policy, so unnatural, so suicidal, as it appeared to me, I could have no sympathy.

In regard to St. Ninian's, it was (as I have said) from Oxford that Lord Forbes and Mr. Boyle derived their inspiration; it was to the leaders of the movement there, rather than to the Diocesan, even in Bishop Torry's time,¹ that they looked for guidance; that is, they looked for it to those who had no responsibility, who were living far away, and whose experience was of another and a different country,

¹ For example, non-communicating attendance at the Holy Eucharist, which Bishop Torry would have forbidden had it come to his knowledge (see *Life* by Neale, pp. 371, 442), was freely encouraged and largely practised.

and of another and, in all temporal respects, very different Church. It was in accordance with the policy I have described that the clergy who were first appointed to offices at St. Ninian's—Mr. Chambers, Mr. Humble, Mr. Haskoll, and Mr. Fortescue—were all English. When I became Bishop I did what I could to correct the evil by making Mr. Sellar and Mr. Campbell Canons when Mr. Chambers and Mr. Haskoll resigned. The original impulse, however, had already gone too far to admit of guidance or control in the opposite direction; and meanwhile the financial support came almost entirely from those who, living at a distance, had prescribed and desired to sustain that impulse.

It may be remembered that the experience of Dr. Hook at Leeds was somewhat of the same kind as that which at a later period was in store for me—irresponsible interference with his authority, as priest of that large and important parish, on the part of Pusey and his disciples. It is curious that when I was at Leamington in the winter of 1844-5, and first met Dr. Hook there, at Mr. Galton's, he said, in the course of conversation, 'Poor, dear Pusey! He is sure to make a mess of whatever he undertakes.' Although startled and somewhat shocked by the utterance at the time (for the rupture between Pusey and Hook had not yet begun, and they were then generally supposed to be acting more or less together as High Churchmen), I could afterwards understand from my own experience how such an opinion came to be formed and expressed. That Pusey, with all his excellences, was not well fitted to be the leader of a party must, I think, be admitted; yet he was so far superior to others, and so little disinclined to assert his superiority, that no one could venture to supersede, and few were so bold as to attempt to thwart, him. He was content to see younger men go ahead, and

do things which he himself had too much caution and good sense to do; he declined to check Romanising influences, of which he himself did not approve, even when urged to do so by friendly High Churchmen of mature wisdom and experience, such as Dr. Moberly, Dr. Hook, and Mr. Barter.¹

To return to St. Ninian's, and to trace the upgrowth of the scheme more particularly.—There could not have been found in all Scotland a place less suited for the operations of a zeal such as the persons I have mentioned were impatient to exhibit than Perth then was—less suited in all respects save one: that it was in the diocese of Bishop Torry. With the exception of Bishop Forbes, who was young and recently appointed, and felt that he had enough to do to make good his own position in Dundee, Bishop Torry was the only one among the Bishops from whom the promoters of the St. Ninian's scheme could expect to receive any countenance or support; and he himself was flattered by the compliment—such he naturally regarded it—shown in the preference thus given to him and to his diocese by Churchmen of distinction, who (it has been seen) had little or no connection with it. In the year 1846 the only Episcopalians in Perth consisted of a body who early in the century had separated from the Bishop

¹ For the sentiments of Mr. Barter (a personal friend of Newman, comp. Vol. i. pp. 322 sq.), see his *Tracts in Defence of the Church*, pref. p. 61. 'The injury which Mr. Newman inflicted on our Church ought to have ended immediately on his secession to Rome, and it would have done so had those who declined to follow him acted thenceforwards a firm and decided part. Had they immediately recovered the impregnable position from which he had seduced them, and used against the deserter his own weapons, their success in vindicating the doctrine and authority of our Church would have been easy and complete. . . . Many, however, loved the man too well, and did not defend the cause of truth with that earnestness and zeal which the occasion imperatively demanded, and we are at this moment reaping the bitter fruits of their weakness and indecision.' Weighty words (written in 1851), but, unhappily, little heeded. It will be remembered that Pusey had nothing to say of Newman's secession more severe than this: he 'had gone to work in another portion of our Lord's vineyard.'

of the diocese, and formed themselves into a so-called 'English' congregation,¹ which comprised not only respectable citizens, but the lairds and aristocracy of the neighbourhood. In that year Bishop Torry, having from the very beginning of his Episcopate (1809) tried in vain to induce them to surrender their schismatical position, authorised the opening of a mission, to be conducted by the Rev. J. C. Chambers,² and shortly afterwards renewed his appeal to the separatists, whose chapel bore the name of St. John. At length the forcible and affectionate appeal of the good Bishop had the desired effect; and on January 25, 1849, the St. John's congregation, mainly through the praiseworthy efforts and influence of their clergyman, Mr. Wood, were formally reunited to the Church after a separation of nearly fifty years. Still, although reunited, they were for the most part impregnated with a spirit, if no

¹ 'Perth was the most important town in the united diocese, but at this time had no congregation in connection with Scottish Episcopacy. There had been one at the beginning of the century, known in the district as the Jacobite, or Nonjuring; but this had been gradually dying out, and at last became amalgamated with the English, or qualified, congregation, whose minister for the time being professed allegiance to the Bishop of the diocese, but whose successor for above forty years had refused to have episcopal acts performed by any authorised prelate. They were content to remain "Non-episcopal Episcopalians."'—Neale's *Life of Bishop Torry*, p. 298.

² I have before me the original licence (received from the late Dean Torry) which the Bishop gave to Mr. Chambers. It is as follows:

'Peterhead: Oct. 12, 1846.

'Rev. and Dear Sir,—You are hereby authorised to use your best endeavours to regain a congregation in the town of Perth, which was in communion with the Scottish Episcopal Church until towards the end of the episcopate of the late Bishop Watson, of Dunkeld; and you are licensed to perform all ministerial services competent for a Presbyter to perform.

'Witness my hand at Peterhead the 12th day of October, 1846.

'PATRICK TORRY, D.D.,

'Bishop of St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane.

'To the Rev. John Charles Chambers,
'lately a curate in the Diocese of Ripon, now at Perth.'

longer of actual schism, of the merest congregationalism, and required very careful and tender treatment. Unhappily, the treatment they had received before their reconciliation had not been such. They had been invited by Mr. Chambers to come out and join his mission-flock in the character of 'lost sheep.' Mr. Chambers was an earnest and devoted clergyman; but how far he was fitted for a position such as that in which he had been placed may be inferred from a letter which Dr. Hook had addressed to me in September 1866. In that letter Dr. Hook said that Mr. Chambers, who was expecting an appointment to a chapel in Perth, would probably be very mischievous there. He dressed like a Roman Catholic priest, and had a Romish habit of speech. On one occasion, having been requested to preach for Mr. Ward, in the Bidding Prayer he had desired the prayers 'for the whole commons of this land, that they may be rescued from the fearful heresies in which they have been involved for the last three hundred years, and be brought back to the bosom of Holy Mother Church.' Dr. Hook added that Mr. Chambers was a man of determination, who, even if he did not go over to Rome, would probably damage us.

I kept that letter (although not marked Private) to myself; but it may be supposed that the warning it contained, coming from such a quarter, made me feel not a little uneasy.

My impression of what was desirable amid the circumstances above described was stated in a pamphlet put forth anonymously, early in 1850, under the title of 'A Call to Union, Addressed to the Members of the Two Episcopal Congregations in Perth.' The purpose was to suggest the junction of the two (whose numbers altogether scarce amounted to 600) upon the basis of one large and handsome church, with two or more clergy, daily service, weekly Communion, and

the use of both Scotch and English Communion Offices, as the best foundation and hope for development. The moment was critical. The congregation of St. John's, now placed under the Bishop, was the largest and most important in the diocese. Its place of worship was un-ecclesiastical and insufficient, and its members had already begun to subscribe towards the erection of another, which should be larger and more suitable. The scanty flock which Mr. Chambers had gathered were occupying a hired room. To prevent mutual hostility, it was evidently desirable that the two should be formed into one. In the step which I had taken to recommend this course I was encouraged by letters received, on the one hand from Sir John Forbes of Fettercairn, who was one of the members of the committee of the Cathedral scheme, and on the other hand from Mr. Grant, of Kilgraston, a vestryman and leading member of the St. John's congregation. I soon discovered that there was an insurmountable difficulty in the way of my suggestion—the same bone of contention which has caused so much trouble in our Church on other occasions. The Bishop and Lord Forbes would have nothing to say to the English Communion Office, and Mr. Wood and his congregation would have nothing to say to the Scotch. It appeared by a letter I had received from Lord Forbes (dated July 11, 1848) that his movement was one almost entirely supported, if not set on foot, by English High Churchmen in order to force on (in disregard of prudential considerations, such as St. Paul would have insisted on in the name of charity) the exclusive use of the Scotch Office, and that almost all the subscriptions he had received or been promised by approvers of his scheme (including Isaac Williams, Sir George Prevost, Mr. Pyddoke, Dr. Hook, Messrs. Madan, Knollys, Addison, Carter, Durdle, H. W. Bellairs, C. Bellairs, &c.) would have to be returned or cancelled unless this

were to be carried out ; ‘ their view being that the English Office should be used in England, and the Scotch in Scotland —*the same doctrine being held under varying forms.*’ This view was urged in a long letter, under date July 29, which I received from Bishop Torry. It seemed to me a mistaken policy, in a case where doctrine was confessedly not involved, not to allow a congregation to have any voice in the determination of its own Communion Office, when the Canons of our Church had sanctioned both ; and I could not regard it as quite consistent on the part either of Lord Forbes, who by residing constantly in England debarred himself from the use of the Office upon which he laid so much stress in the case of others, or of the Bishop, who a short time before, when a congregation had been formed and a new church erected and consecrated (January 12, 1848) at Coupar Angus, allowed to his son, the incumbent, the exclusive use of the English Office. Besides, it is certain that the course pursued by the Bishop at Perth would not have been approved by the clergy of the diocese. Consequently, it was never submitted to the Synod, his proper council ; without which step, according to the rule of the Primitive Church, upon which he so often professed to take his stand, a Bishop ought to do nothing. In regard to the use of the two Offices in the same congregation, I considered that arrangement, which we found to answer well at Trinity College, a wise one when called for by circumstances (of which Churchmen in England could be no proper judges) in order to secure harmony or prevent disruption ; and in this opinion I was not singular. It was the arrangement adopted by Bishop Trower in his domestic chapel ; and even Bishop Forbes, although he shrank from placing himself in opposition to his aged brother in the Episcopate, and although when elected to the Incumbency of St. Paul’s, Dundee, he had pledged himself to the

Vestry to use only the English Office, wrote to me (September 10, 1849) as follows: 'The plan of the interchange of the two Offices in general has always been a favourite one of mine in the present state of the Church. *I hope we may eventually have it here.*' I cannot forbear to add the sentiments of Sir John Forbes of Fettercairn, as expressed in a letter of February 20, 1850:

Venerating as I do the Scotch Communion Office, if that were the only barrier [it certainly was the main barrier] to a union between the two congregations, I should feel that to insist upon its exclusive celebration would be indefensible if a middle way could be found to rescue us from the appearance of schism where there is none, thereby strengthening ourselves against the real separatists, and procuring the support we so much want for the new institution.

Apart from the question of the two Offices, it was argued by some—for example, by Bishop Forbes (September 10, 1849)—that, 'while the newly-joined chapel did its work among the magnates of the county and the *bourgeoisie* of Perth, the other might labour effectually in the humbler but as blessed work of bringing in God's poor to the one fold.' The notion of the separation of rich and poor in the worship of God is not, to my mind, agreeable; but the services of the Cathedral, being from the first elaborately choral,—indeed, it must be said that the clergy were ambitious of reading a lesson to English cathedrals, by showing, as they did not altogether without success, what a cathedral service ought to be—those services, unfortunately, were not suitable for mission purposes. Even for educated persons who are not musical, they are not always easy to follow; and to the uneducated they become a mere empty pageant, a snare and delusion (like that which St. Paul reproved when he wrote, 'I will pray with the spirit,

and I will pray with the understanding also'); and to the lower orders of the Scotch they are peculiarly distasteful—not to say repulsive. The reader of Dean Ramsay's Reminiscences may recall the following anecdote.—A family nurse was taken by her mistress to St. John's, in Edinburgh, one Sunday afternoon; and, when asked afterwards what she thought of the chanting, she confessed her main impression was that 'it was an awfu' way of spending the Sabbath.'¹—To return. Although the hope of union must be abandoned, I still endeavoured to induce the promoters of the Cathedral scheme to place it upon a footing less liable to objection; and, with this object, I printed, but marked 'private,' another short pamphlet (pp. 22), 'A Letter to the Members of Committee of the Perth Cathedral,' in which I urged, more especially, the importance of endeavouring to obtain the co-operation of persons residing in the diocese (a cathedral being essentially a diocesan institution) and, if possible, in or near Perth. I reminded them that when the Cathedral scheme was first advertised it was announced in a letter from the Bishop of the Diocese 'as a *great national work, in which the whole Church is interested,*' and that the first address drawn up by the Committee, August 1847, contained the following earnest and hopeful expressions: 'Here (*i.e.*, in this object) *everyone may unite*, and we do hope there will be *one simultaneous effort made throughout the two Churches of England and Scotland* to help us in raising the needful funds.' Further, I reminded them that in the same address the public were informed that Perth

¹ The reader must not suppose that I forget, or fail to appreciate, what may be said in behalf of Cathedral services as the consecration of the highest mode of worship to Almighty God, apart from the number or quality of the worshippers; but this was an argument never mentioned, as being quite unsuited to the circumstances of the case and to the condition of our Church as it then was. Still less was I indifferent to the requirement of daily service, for which I expressly stipulated as one of the conditions of my proposed 'Union.'

had been selected as the most appropriate site for the first Cathedral and collegiate residence of our Church, among other reasons, because of 'its vicinity to Glenalmond, the seat of Trinity College.' The original committee named by the Bishops (probably at Mr. Loudoun's dictation) were these:¹ *Of the Clergy*: The Bishop of the Diocese, Rev. C. J. Chambers, Rev. A. Lendrum, Rev. L. Macmillan, and Very Rev. J. Torry. *Of the Laity*: Lord Forbes, Lord Campden, Honourable G. F. Boyle, Sir James Ramsay of Banff, Sir John Forbes of Pitsligo, and the Right Honourable W. E. Gladstone. (With power to add to their number.) Of the clergy, all were of one colour, except Dean Torry, who, complaining of being treated with disrespect, soon withdrew. Of the laity, only one resided in the diocese, and he not in Perth or the neighbourhood,—Sir J. Ramsay, who never attended any of the meetings;—while Mr. Gladstone, seeing his name put down without his knowledge or consent, immediately ordered it to be cancelled.

I was glad to find that my printed letter was approved by Sir John Forbes, who, writing May 31, 1850, after informing me that, being unconnected with the diocese, and doubting the practicability of the scheme, he accepted the nomination of the Bishop entirely out of deference to him, but *had now sent in* his resignation, added:

I earnestly hope that your influence may avert the evil, which, I think, will be great to the Church, of opening two places of worship for rival congregations under the same episcopal head, with only sufficient difference to give a colour of party to their separation, adding acrimony to their jealousy without apology for their opposition.

¹ I give the names as they stand in Neale's *Life of Bishop Torry*, pp. 309 sq.

The Primus wrote still more severely to the same effect.—

I have not read a more complete or more justly deserved *exposé* of vile party spirit. . . What success can be fairly expected to a cause, however good, promoted by means at such utter variance with the genuine spirit of Christianity?

My remonstrance produced little or no effect, although I had been assured by Mr. W. Forbes (June 26, 1848), 'It is most desirable that you should approve and sanction what is proposed to be done, and everybody interested in the matter is most anxious to meet your wishes'; and again (March 4, 1850), with reference to my *plea for union*: 'Your object is a most praiseworthy one, and you are in every respect justified in giving the sanction of your high authority to any attempt at a compromise.' Even Mr. Lendrum, writing February 2, 1850, went so far as to confess that there had 'been a good deal of mismanagement.' 'I feel with you,' he wrote, 'one error has been the not taking proper means to secure your co-operation on proper grounds, which, I cannot but feel, would have been in every way advantageous.' Mr. Grant of Kilgraston (September 20, 1850) had authorised me to 'ask the members of their Committee to make a proposition of meeting our Vestry'—a conference of three of each party—not to decide, but 'to see if there was a possibility of our coming together.' The overture was allowed to drop, without, I believe, any acknowledgment of it being made.

Nevertheless, when the die was cast I did nothing to oppose, but all that I could to promote, the Cathedral scheme. In compliance with Bishop Forbes's request, I attended the ceremony of laying the first stone, on September 18, 1849; and next day I sent to Mr. Chambers, as my subscription to the building, a cheque for 100*l.*—

the same sum as I had given to the new building of St. John's. Thenceforth the two opposing schemes were pressed on by their respective promoters. The notion which I had cherished—that the Church in Perth would be developed from a single source (as, soon after, the Church in Dundee was so successfully developed by Bishop Forbes)—was at an end; and during five and thirty years we have seen the result. What was built of the Cathedral¹ (sufficient to accommodate between two and three hundred), having been consecrated by Bishop Forbes, acting in behalf of Bishop Torry, on December 11, 1850, was immediately taken possession of by Mr. Chambers's congregation. He himself, and Mr. Humble and Mr. Haskoll, had been appointed Canons by the Bishop, and had elected Mr. Fortescue as their Dean. There was no endowment for any one of them. Small as the building was, the congregation during all those years was never such as to require a larger one. The new St. John's, built upon a scale insufficient and unsatisfactory in all respects, and consecrated by Bishop Terrot on October 22, 1851, retained Mr. Wood as its pastor; but, with its limited accommodation and expensive seat rents, it could offer little or no provision for the poor; and it cannot, I fear, be said that during all that time the spirit of antagonism between the two congregations ceased altogether. Happily, before I come to the conclusion of these 'Annals' altered circumstances will enable me to tell a different tale, at least in regard to St. Ninian's.

2. *Palmer's Appeal, and the Gorham Judgment.*

The circumstances connected with the peculiar condition of our Church in Perth had been a source of

¹ At a cost of about 6,000*l.*, of which not more than 300*l.* (including my own subscription) was contributed in Perth, or even in the diocese.

uneasiness to me all along, from the beginning of my Wardenship. One of the first occasions on which I was drawn to take a prominent part in diocesan affairs was the appeal made by my old friend William Palmer, in Bishop Luscombe's name, to our Scottish Church. The circumstances out of which that appeal arose were these. Palmer, although not as yet inclined to Romanise—thitherto, indeed, although a Fellow of Magdalen, he had stood aloof from the Oxford Movement—had become more or less dissatisfied with his position in the Church of England, and had gone to Russia in order to make himself thoroughly acquainted with the principles and condition of the Church of that country, and not without a hope that he should be able, as an Anglican, to establish his claim to communion with it. While bent upon this project he fell in at St. Petersburg (November 1840) with Prince Michael Galitzin, from whom he learnt that in the previous spring his wife and eldest daughter, under the influence of the English chaplain at Geneva, had there professed themselves converts to the Anglican faith, and renounced membership with their own (the Russian) Church, thus taking up a position exactly contradictory to that which Palmer was seeking to establish for himself—that, the two Churches being already in communion, to pretend conversion from one to the other was schismatical, a denial of the unity which, both being equally a true portion of the one Catholic Church, must necessarily exist between them. Accordingly, Palmer assured the Prince that what the ladies professed to have done was altogether invalid, and he advised him to write to the Archbishop of Canterbury for satisfaction upon the point. This the Prince did; but, no answer being received, Palmer himself wrote to the Bishop of London, as Ordinary of the Continental chaplains. The Bishop, having ascertained from the chaplain that nothing had been said or

done by him to require or induce the ladies to renounce the Russian Church, naturally enough defended his act in admitting them to communion; but, unfortunately, added in his reply the expression of his opinion that 'the question whether a person offering himself for communion in the Church of England was a convert from another Church or not was one for that person's own conscience, which the clergyman admitting him to communion was not called upon to decide,'¹ thus not only raising, but settling, the point as to the legality of Passive Communion. The daughter, under her father's persuasion, returned to the Russian Church; but the wife, who had been thoroughly indoctrinated with Puritanical views, was not to be moved from the position she had taken up, and soon afterwards, going to Paris, received the Communion in the English chapel of which Bishop Luscombe was then pastor. (Bishop Luscombe had prevailed upon our Scottish Bishops in 1825 to consecrate him as Bishop for members of the Anglican communion on the Continent,² and in that capacity had been allowed by the Bishop of London to act as his Commissary). When the Bishop had learned from Palmer, who at the request of the Prince had followed the lady to Paris, the circumstances of the case, he refused to comply with her request for a written certificate of Communion so long

¹ It is curious that the present Bishop of London has just now given a similar opinion in the case of a Swiss chaplain (at Grindelwald) who had admitted several Nonconformist ministers to the ordinary Sunday morning Communion. The Bishop says: 'He did not consider that the chaplain had in any way violated Church order in giving them the Communion. *It was not the chaplain's business* to inquire whether, according to the wording of the Rubric, they had been confirmed, or were desirous of being confirmed.' See letter, of Mr. Henry S. Lunn, general Editor of the *Review of the Churches*, in *The Times*, May 21, 1892.

² It is remarkable that even Bishop Torry was in favour of 'forming a regularly-constituted *Protestant* Episcopal Church in France.'—See Neale's *Life*, pp. 135 sq.

as she persisted in her determination to be regarded as a convert from the Church of her own country.

In 1842 the lady returned to Russia. Palmer, after visiting Scotland, again followed her in the capacity of Bishop Luscombe's deacon, determined to make good the assurances he had given to her husband, and in connection therewith to prosecute his claim for admission to communion with the Russian Church. In pursuance of this claim, he availed himself of the advantages which his intimacy with Prince Galitzin gave him to enter into communication with high authorities of that Church. The answer which he obtained from the Holy Governing Synod was to the effect that they 'declined to admit him to communion otherwise than by the rite prescribed for converts from heterodoxy.' Thereupon he challenged them to convict him of heresy or schism. The Synod, through its arch-priest, drew up a paper of forty-four propositions, supposed to be contained in the Thirty-nine Articles, and required him to say anathema to them; which he did, but under the plea that upon all the points objected to the Articles admitted of a sound interpretation. This was getting upon dangerous ground, and going further than any man, howsoever learned and acute, could safely venture; and it does not appear that Palmer gained anything by it. Nevertheless, when he returned to Paris Bishop Luscombe, who sympathised in his endeavours to bring about practical intercommunion with the Easterns, gave approval to his action in reference to the said propositions, and also to forty-eight additional propositions which Palmer himself had drawn up respecting discipline, and directed against the plea of Passive Communion. At that stage it was only natural that they should both desire to strengthen their own and each other's hands; and they turned to our Scottish Church, which had consecrated

Bishop Luscombe, and with several of whose Bishops Palmer had made acquaintance, as the most obvious quarter to which they could reasonably look for sanction and support. Hence arose the 'Appeal to the Scottish Bishops and Clergy, and generally to the Church of their Communion,' which has led to this long narration. It appeared in the shape of a thick, closely-printed volume of 704 pages, drawn up by Palmer, and containing a full account of the various matters above described, and of his own views in connection with them. The main question upon which the 'Appeal' turned was whether Bishop Luscombe and his deacon were justified in anathematising the forty-four propositions of the Holy Governing Synod as unfairly deduced from the Thirty-nine Articles. This question was almost lost sight of in the mass of details which crowded the pages from Palmer's indefatigable and prolific pen. He presented the volume first to Bishop Torry, who, as he had reason to expect, gave it upon the whole a favourable reception, and promised to submit it to the clergy of his diocese. Accordingly, a special Synod was summoned for its consideration on March 27, 1849, by a mandate from the Bishop, who directed our attention particularly to the claim of Passive Communion, as one which came more directly home to our own circumstances. I was not formally instituted as a Presbyter of the diocese until the beginning of next year (February 4, 1850), and therefore not yet a voting member of Synod; but I was invited by the Bishop and clergy to attend and take part in the proceedings.

I had no difficulty in making up my mind that the claim of Passive Communion was inadmissible (although I could not concur in the recommendation of 'compulsory examination and confession,' as required in the Russian Church, 'under other circumstances than those of public

scandal'); but into the wider bearings of the case, as they presented themselves to Palmer's own mind—that is, as forming a basis for negotiation with a view to the establishment of practical union with the Churches of Russia and of the East—I shrank from entering, not through want of sympathy with the project itself, but because I regarded it as too Utopian to be capable of being turned to any good account. It soon became evident that this conviction was still more strongly felt by all the other Bishops, if not also by Bishop Torry himself, inasmuch as when the 'Appeal' came before them in their own Episcopal Synod, they bluntly rejected it altogether; apparently upon the ground that the attempt which it urged upon our Scottish Church, if sanctioned by us, would be liable to endanger our relations with the Church of England and with the other Reformed Churches with which we are in communion. There were few indeed, I suppose, even of those interested in the matter, who did not feel that the occasion which Palmer had taken up was far too slight and trivial to be charged with the momentous issues he endeavoured to extract from it; and no amount of argument (to which, it must be confessed, he was somewhat inordinately prone) would suffice to impart reality to a scheme for which the minds of the great mass of both Anglicans and Easterns were unprepared. Consequently, in the part which I took at our Synod I could not go far enough to satisfy my friend the appellant;¹ but the address which I had prepared and delivered not only approved itself to my brother-clergy, so that they unanimously adopted the four resolutions it contained, and requested that the address should be printed and copies of it sent to the other Synods of the Church,

¹ I have preserved no fewer than fifteen letters, some of them very long, which I received from him between March and July, 1849, on the subject of the 'Appeal.'

together with the 'Appeal,' but entirely satisfied my Diocesan, Bishop Torry, who wrote to me as follows :

Peterhead: April 27, 1849.

I duly received your printed address to your brethren in relation to Mr. Palmer's business at the Diocesan Synod holden at Dundee,¹ and beg to thank you for presenting to me a copy of it. This I would have done sooner; but I waited until I should have reason to think of your having returned with improved health to the scene of your labours in Trinity College from St. Andrews. With your address I am more than simply pleased—I am delighted,—and think that you have thereby done good service to the Church, and particularly to the clergy of my diocese.

The communication made to me by the Primus was no less gratifying.—

I wish to express to you with what gratitude and cordial approbation I have perused your very sound and powerful address at your late special meeting of Diocesan Synod on the very important matter of your friend W. Palmer's Appeal, who must have felt, I should conceive, somewhat uneasy under your so justly merited critical remarks; even though you concluded by moving and carrying an unanimous vote of thanks to him for the stand which he has made in defence of our Communion. I perfectly agree with you and Dean Torry in the view which you both took of the point in question, and after the way in which you have very ably treated it I feel a little doubtful of the necessity or expediency of carrying the matter further by submitting it to the consideration of the other Synods of the Church, and *should be glad to have your opinion upon that point.*

The request implied in that last clause led me (upon my cherished principle of doing thoroughly whatever I undertook) to write another pamphlet, in the form of a

¹ The troubles in Perth led to our meeting outside the diocese, as on another occasion they led to the Synod meeting at an inn.

letter addressed to the Primus himself, and printed for private circulation only, in which I recommended that the Bishops should put forth a resolution to the effect that the term 'evil-liver' in the second Rubric prefixed to the Communion Office was to be understood to apply to schismatical and divisive courses no less than to cases of immorality. I should not now be inclined to urge that view. Longer experience has taught me that the causes of our divisions, as they now exist, for the most part through hereditary misunderstandings rather than through conscious or self-willed alienations, are not of a kind to require such treatment. I am now more disposed, with good Bishop Andrewes, to take shelter under the maxim, *Aliud est quod docemus, aliud quod patimur*. This, I suppose, was felt by the Bishops and clergy generally, whose experience was longer, and judgment sounder, than mine; for, although copies of the pamphlet were sent to all of them, and the Primus himself spoke of it in the kindest terms,¹ as did also Bishop Torry, I received very few acknowledgments of it, and the question was allowed to drop. Bishop Torry's letter in acknowledging both the pamphlets I had sent him was as follows:

Peterhead: June 15, 1849.

Rev. and dear Sir,—Mr. Palmer, who came to Peterhead two days ago, delivered your message to me, and I have to apologise for not sooner acknowledging the receipt of your two lately-printed pamphlets, and thanking you for them. I admire them both very much—the latter particularly, because it is evident that the majority of the Scottish prelates are desirous of

¹ Writing from Aberdeen, May 29, 1849: 'The subject truly is, as you affirm, a most delicate and difficult one, and you appear to me to have succeeded admirably in handling it so as not only to give no offence and to do no harm, but, under the Divine blessing, to do not a little good, by setting the matter before our brethren and the members of the Church in its true and clear light; and I cannot sufficiently thank you for the honour you do me in addressing to me your valuable and interesting lucubrations on a subject of such acknowledged importance.'

quashing any further discussion of the subject of *Passive Communion*. I hope your printed addresses will have a tendency to give them more correct views of their duty, as stewards of the manifold grace of God, in reference to that highly important matter.

I have been very poorly for about a month past, and feel my strength greatly broken down; but I am still able to acknowledge your courtesy and kindness to myself personally, and to appreciate duly the value of your attendance and advice at the Synods of the clergy of my diocese, which I trust you will continue to give as long as I live, and after I shall be called hence.

Believe me to remain very sincerely,
Your affectionate brother and faithful servant,

PATRICK TORRY,
Bishop of St. Andrews, &c., &c.

I cannot quit the subject of the 'Appeal' without bearing testimony to the character of my friend W. Palmer. It is not too much to say of him that he possessed in perfection the qualities of a gentleman and of a true Christian. His abilities were of the highest order;¹ and they were equalled by his single-mindedness. In both there was visible what to ordinary minds would seem a touch of eccentricity. His patience and perseverance were inexhaustible, and no trouble was too much to take for what he considered a worthy and beneficent object. Eventually he joined the Church of Rome; and he devoted himself, among other studies, to Egyptology, a subject naturally attractive to one of his turn of mind. He was in the habit of recording to the minutest particulars, on all memorable occasions, the incidents of his life and the conversations he held with acquaintances, of whom he had a great variety; and he must have left behind him an immense mass of autobiographical memorials. After his death, his friend Cardinal Newman published a small portion of them in a volume

¹ Walter Hamilton used to maintain that, of all our contemporaries at Oxford, he was the ablest.

which contained his Russian journals. The Cardinal was so good as to present me with a copy. I sent him in return a copy of my Latin translations of passages from 'The Christian Year' relating to the duties of the clergy ('Anni Christiani quæ ad Clerum pertinent Latine reddita'), which he kindly acknowledged in the following note. I print the note because it goes to confirm what I have said in the Preface to this volume in answer to one of the critics of my earlier 'Annals.'—

Birmingham : November 13, 1882.

My dear Bishop of St. Andrews,—Thank you for your beautiful gift. The binding and letterpress are worthy of the translations, and the translations (so far as I have read them) are worthy of their originals in 'The Christian Year.' It is not the first of my books with your name in it as the donor. You gave me in 1844 Wetstein's Greek Testaments, which have a place in our Oratory Library, as the present gift will have, as lasting memorials of you when I am gone.

I am, my dear Bishop,

Most truly yours,

JOHN H., CARD. NEWMAN.

While we in Scotland were troubling ourselves to little purpose about the 'Appeal' of Bishop Luscombe, the Church of England was undergoing a far more serious disturbance from a trial which ended in what is known as the Gorham Judgment—a disturbance, indeed, so serious that Mr. Gladstone, writing to me September 11, 1850, remarked, concerning it, 'I deeply fear that the said case [Gorham] and its appurtenances may yet destroy the Church of England.' Of course, what so deeply concerned our brethren in England could not be a matter of indifference to us. Our Bishop summoned a Special Synod to consider the question, which met at Perth, April 4, 1850. As it did not seem to me a case which required additional legislation,

I proposed a resolution, which was adopted unanimously, in the following terms :

Whereas in the Church of England, with which we ourselves are in full communion, and from which we have received our baptismal formularies, events have taken place which render it incumbent upon us, both individually and collectively, according to our Ordination vows, to vindicate and assert the one and only true doctrine of Holy Baptism against certain heretical impugners of it who deny the regeneration of some or of all infants in Holy Baptism, and maintain that the contrary of this, their false opinion, is not in each and every case where the Sacrament is administered to infants plainly and unequivocally set down, taught, and required to be believed in the said formularies, as it is also set forth in the Catechism and Thirty-nine Articles, it has seemed good to this Synod of the United Diocese of St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane to adopt, and we do hereby adopt, the statement contained in the 57th Canon of the Church of England, passed in the year 1603, to this effect : ' The doctrine of Baptism is so sufficiently set down in the Book of Common Prayer to be used at the administration of the said Sacrament as nothing can be added to it that is material and necessary.'

I was glad to find that the course we had taken approved itself not only to our own Diocesan, whom I had previously consulted, but also to the Bishop of Exeter and to my brother, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln. A note from the latter, April 6, 1850, contained the following words :— ' Your brief appeal to the English canon seems to me a far better thing than all the protests put together from this side of the Tweed.' The Episcopal Synod met soon after, and passed a resolution in terms somewhat fuller, but much to the same effect. The Judgment itself, in the good providence of God, far from being so disastrous as Mr. Gladstone had apprehended, was not without some good result. It turned men's minds to the subject in dispute, and led many to think far more seriously about the Sacrament of Baptism, and to entertain juster views of its

importance and efficacy than they had previously held. It is true that some, whose faith in their Mother Church was already shaken, found in the Judgment an additional motive for deserting her, and going over to the Church of Rome. What did they gain by so doing? It was not long before, as members of that Church, they had to embrace novel judgments, not only far more binding upon their consciences, but certainly not less injurious to the truth of the Gospel: the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, and the Infallibility of the Papal See.

3. *Bishop Torry's Prayer Book.*

No sooner was the Gorham question disposed of than another diocesan matter arose, in which, for reasons to be stated presently, I had occasion to take a still more active and engrossing part. Our Bishop, now in his eighty-sixth year, had been prevailed upon three years previously (September 1847) by a few of his clergy, including Mr. Lendrum and Mr. Chambers, to promise to give his sanction to the editing of a Prayer Book which, as coming from 'a prelate of his age and experience, might serve as a document of reference and authority in regard to the practice of our Church, its Liturgy and usages, during the last century.' To compliance with that request there could be no objection. On the contrary, such a publication might prove on many accounts an interesting and useful one. The leaders of the party, however, were not content with a performance of the Bishop's promise simply in accordance with the words of their petition. They seized the occasion to exhibit our Church before the world, *not as it really was, but as they wished it to be*; and, unhappily, the Bishop, in his zeal to promote the same cause, allowed himself to fall into the trap which was thus laid for him. When the book appeared it was found to bear the following

title: 'The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church according to the Use of the Church of Scotland'; and prefixed to it was a certificate from the Bishop in these terms: 'I hereby certify that I have carefully examined this edition of the Book of Common Prayer, and that it is in strict conformity with the usage of the Church of Scotland; and I accordingly recommend it to the use of the clergy of my own diocese.' Both the title and the certificate were, to say the least, very misleading. Not only did the book not contain the English Communion Office, which was invariably *used* by five of our seven Bishops, by six of our seven Deans, and by a considerable majority of our congregations, but it did contain Rubrics enjoining *usages* not sanctioned by any canon, and differing from, and even contradictory to, those of the Anglican Prayer Book which have been recognised by our canons. I happened to obtain a copy of the book, and I forwarded it immediately to Bishop Trower, as then clerk of the Episcopal College. The Bishops were not slow to take up the matter as one of no little moment, and threatening the peace and well-being of our Church in no ordinary measure. They met, and, with the exception of Bishop Forbes, condemned the publication, ordered it to be suppressed, desired Bishop Torry to withdraw his recommendation, and censured the publisher (a brother of Mr. Lendrum, lately established as a bookseller in Edinburgh) as guilty of high presumption. Soon afterwards (June 19, 1850) our Diocesan Synod met at St. Andrews. It had before it a copy of the Bishop's resolution, which the clerk of the Episcopal College had been instructed to communicate to us. An animated discussion, lasting for eight hours, ended in our adopting by a majority of more than two to one (including the Dean and the Synod Clerk) the two resolutions which

I proposed: (1) Expressive of our thankful concurrence with the action of the Episcopal Synod in ordering the suppression of the book; and (2) recording our strong disapproval of its use.¹ A report of our proceedings sent by Mr. Chambers to the *Guardian* newspaper contained inaccurate statements, especially with reference to the part I myself had taken in the discussion; whereupon a correspondence ensued, extending on my part to seven letters, and including two from Mr. G. H. Forbes in answer, and in defence of the book, for which he had been mainly responsible. My own letters, in which the illegality and rashness of the publication were exposed at length, were afterwards collected and published in pamphlet form; and they were followed by another pamphlet, which, after visiting Bishop Torry at Peterhead, I addressed to himself. The fact that my Diocesan recommended to his clergy a Church Service-book which it was impossible for me to use consistently with the regulation for the alternate use of the two Communion Offices to which I was subject as Warden of Trinity College, and in which Bishop Torry himself had concurred, brought the matter home to me more closely than to any other of the clergy, and rendered it necessary for me to show cause why, with every desire to pay due respect to my Bishop, I could not comply with his recommendation in the present instance. I have already said that no objection could have been raised if Bishop Torry had thought fit to publish an authentic record of his reminiscences in regard to the Liturgical usages of our Church during the last century, when it consisted merely of Nonjurors; and this was all that was intended by the more moderate of those who, in 1847, signed the petition which led to the publication. But the

¹ All the other Diocesan Synods, by greater or less majorities, censured the publication.—See Neale's *Life of Bishop Torry*, p. 282.

undertaking which he was persuaded to sanction went far beyond this—was, in fact, of a very different and much more ambitious kind;—and his own action in regard to it proceeded upon a claim of episcopal *jus Liturgicum*, on his part, no longer admissible when he and his diocese had become members of a provincial Church placed under a code of canons which did not exist in the last century, and which they, no less than the other Bishops and dioceses of the Church, had bound themselves to obey.¹

It is undesirable to pursue the controversy farther; but I cannot forbear to mention that even Bishop Torry's biographer, although bent upon justifying his conduct in this and all other respects as far as possible, was constrained to allow (Preface, p. viii.): '(1) That it would have been better to submit the book to the Diocesan Synod,' 'the Bishop's standing Council in the government of his diocese' (p. 274); and '(2) that since, whether rightly or wrongly, he had tolerated the use, under certain restrictions, of the English Liturgy, it had been better to subjoin that Liturgy to the distinctive Scottish form.' Again, in p. 274: 'The manner of the publication was not wise, nor, perhaps, altogether right.' It is enough to ask, 'If each of our seven Bishops were to claim the same independent authority, and to act in the same way, what would become of the unity of our Church?'

It was feared by some that the controversy raised about the Prayer Book, and the prominent part which I had taken in it, might prove injurious to the interests of the

¹ A further objection to Bishop Torry's action lay in the fact (of which he was reminded by a deed of the Episcopal Synod, September 5, 1850) that previously to his consecration he had been required by the Bishops, and had consented, to sign a declaration which bound him 'in all matters relating to the *worship* and discipline of the Church to be determined by the majority' of his brother-Bishops (see Neale's *Life of Bishop Torry*, p. 287; Bishop Dowden, in *Scottish Guardian*, November 20, 1891). The ultra-canonical imposition of any such declaration is now done away with.

College, more especially as the leading journals of the English Church had vehemently espoused the cause of Bishop Torry against the Episcopal Synod, and not less against me and the Synod of our diocese. This was so far from being the case that after the Midsummer holidays of that year we had the largest admission of new boys which, I suppose, has been ever known at one time. We had nineteen. The number of divinity students also then reached its maximum—twelve. The Primus wrote to me under date September 14, 1850: ‘I am truly delighted to hear of your vast accession of new boys; and it has come most opportunely to set to rest the vile prediction that your recent appearances in the *Guardian*, &c., would prove the utter downfall of the College.’

CHAPTER VI

TRINITY COLLEGE (*continued*)

Consecration of Chapel—Letter to Mr. Gladstone, and his reply—Letters from Mrs. Gladstone and Keble—‘*Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*’—Letters on Church and State—Oxford Elections, 1851–53—Mr. Gladstone on the ‘*Functions of Laymen*’—‘*Religious Liberty*’—Laymen in Synods.

1. *Consecration of the Chapel.*

My last visit to my uncle at Rydal Mount was paid in the Christmas Holidays, 1849–50; and my wife, whom he had not before seen, was with me. On that occasion I drew his attention to his ecclesiastical sonnet (part iii. 8) on ‘*William the Third,*’ especially in reference to the King’s dealings with the Church of Scotland, in which it could scarcely be said that he had been

With constant impulse of religious awe
Swayed, and *thereby* enabled to contend
With the wide world’s commotions.

He readily agreed with me that William’s character had been overdrawn, and placed in far too favourable a light; and he promised to alter the sonnet, so as to bring it more into accordance with historical truth. This, unhappily, he did not live to do. He died on the 23rd of the following April, aged eighty. I went to Rydal to attend the funeral at Grasmere. The scene was of the simplest kind, and in striking contrast to the funeral of the Laureate, his successor, Lord Tennyson, in Westminster Abbey, forty-two years afterwards—a contrast vividly depicted by Mr. Hall Caine, in an interesting article which appeared in the ‘*Times,*’ October 17, 1892. I copy a few lines from that description.—

They buried Wordsworth on Saturday, April 27, in Grasmere Churchyard. That is one of the sweetest spots in all the world, the little dotted plot lying low, with its old grey church, in the arms of the green hills, within its half-circular road, breasted by its beautiful river, and shaded by its spreading yews. The Poet's wife was present at the funeral, in the end, as at the beginning, 'an angel, yet a woman too.' She was very old and had long been ailing, and a month before, when someone on the road had asked about her health, the Poet had answered, 'I think she suffers less pain; but no one can tell, for she never complains.'

My aunt, who was of the same age, survived him nine years. Her resignation and serenity were astonishing. After the funeral, she presided at the dinner-table of our small family party with her usual composure.

The visit to Hope Scott at Abbotsford, which I have recorded in my former volume (p. 115), was, I think, at Easter in the same year.

Notwithstanding the part which I had recently been taking in our Church affairs, we were still under the suspicion of 'holding and practising High Church doctrines, commonly called Puseyite.' To a lady who wrote to me to inquire whether she could commit her sons to my charge without danger in this respect I replied as follows :

Mrs. Hoare's, Hampstead Heath : January 18, 1851.

Madam,—In answer to your letter of January 15, which has reached me here this evening, I beg to say that, next to the Word of God, the rule which I recognise for the performance of my duty as a clergyman, and for the doctrine which I teach, is the Book of Common Prayer, of which I endeavour to fulfil the injunctions as faithfully as I can. I know—and desire to know—nothing of party names in the Church, and I cannot, therefore, consent to designate myself either as a Puseyite or as anti-Puseyite; but if you desire to be informed whether my attachment to the Church in which I minister is not merely formal or double-

mindful, but conscientious and sincere, I trust I may truly say *it is*, and that I have no sympathy whatever, either with the errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome, against which I shall never cease to 'protest,' or with any other form of 'false doctrine, heresy, or schism,' from which I shall always pray that God may deliver us.

I hope I have said enough to assure you that, if you desire your sons to be educated as true and faithful members of the Church, they are not likely to be perverted or misled by any 'doctrine' which they may be taught, or any 'practices' they may be required to observe, at Glenalmond.

I am, Madam,

Your faithful servant,

C. WORDSWORTH.

The first stone of the College chapel was laid, as we have seen, on September 8, 1846, and the walls were raised for a foot or two above the ground. In that condition, through want of funds to carry on the work, they remained for about three years. Meanwhile our temporary chapel was becoming quite insufficient to give the accommodation we required. Amid those circumstances, I requested that the sum (5,000*l.*) which I had originally subscribed to the College might be considered as applicable to the chapel,¹ and that the building should be carried on without delay; and to this the Council consented. The building was resumed; but in the end the original estimate (4,500*l.*) was very greatly exceeded—indeed, very nearly doubled, having risen up to 8,500*l.* As I considered that I had made myself responsible to the Council for the cost of the chapel, this addition I undertook to pay; and by so doing I impoverished myself more than was right, with a large

¹ That sum was the moiety which fell to me of my father's life insurance, and I considered that such a disposal of it would be in accordance with his wishes.

and increasing family ; but, for reasons which will appear in the sequel, I did not see how I could have acted otherwise. Be this, however, as it may, it was with heartfelt thankfulness that at length we witnessed the completion of the work. On May 1, the Festival of St. Philip and St. James, the consecration by the Primus was performed under the most favourable auspices. Three other Bishops (Edinburgh, Argyll, and Glasgow) were present. There was a large assemblage of other clergy and laity ; many of them from England, including Mr. Gladstone, although it was the day of the opening of the 'Great Exhibition,' and also, in the House of Commons, of the debate on the admission of Jews. The Bishop of Salisbury (Denison) had been invited to preach the morning sermon ;¹ but, he being unable to do so, through engagements, the duty was undertaken by Dean Ramsay, who on every account was entitled to fill a prominent place on the occasion ; and his sermon (from 1 Samuel viii. 12) was published by desire of the Bishops. The choral services, from their congregational character, were rendered in a way that gave great satisfaction. My friend Claughton, a competent judge, having a delightful service in his large and beautiful church at Kidderminster, assured me that he had never been anywhere so much impressed. Yet we had no choir : the effect was produced simply by the students and boys themselves.

The afternoon sermon (from Acts v. 42) was preached by me, and appeared afterwards in the 'Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal' (of which I shall have occasion to speak presently), under the title of 'The Church, Home, and School.' The Editor of the 'Journal' was so good as to cha-

¹ What induced me to apply to him I do not remember, further than that he was a man universally esteemed, and belonging to no party in the Church. I had known him slightly, although he was my senior, at Oxford ; and my friend Hamilton's connection with him may have been an additional reason.

racterise the discourse as one likely to be 'generally acceptable and interesting' to his readers; but it was of a somewhat peculiar character, and had caused me much anxiety.¹

I was moved in it to express my apprehension that the time was approaching when the religious education to be given *at home, at school, and by the Church* (as distinct from the State), would become more than ever important in proportion as the great council of the nation was tending more and more to withdraw its guidance (so necessary for the poor, if not also for the rich) and to betray indifference, if not hostility, to the profession, which it had hitherto made, of a Christian character. The following correspondence will show the cause of my anxiety. I am sorry I have not preserved Sir John Gladstone's letter; but the tenor of it may be gathered from mine to his son.—

Trinity College, Glenalmond: May 5, 1851.

My dear Gladstone,—I cannot express to you the gratification which your good father's most kind and most considerate letter has afforded me. Do let him know how deeply grateful I feel to him for it. Nothing external to our consecration has given me so much pleasure—both as coming from him, for whom I have always entertained a higher esteem than for any other person I have ever known, considering the few opportunities I have enjoyed of appreciating his character, and still more as representing the impressions which you were so good as to convey upon your return to Fasque. I will tell you candidly that the only uneasiness I felt in connection with the day arose from your being present at the delivery of my sermon, containing, as it did, matter which would seem to reflect upon your public conduct; not so much from any apprehension that you would be

¹ The Bishops did not pay me the compliment which, as I have said, they paid to Dean Ramsay, of asking me to publish my sermon. Howsoever they may have approved of the sentiments it contained, they wisely abstained from taking a step which might have seemed to place them in a position of antagonism to Mr. Gladstone.

personally displeased with me ('novi enim moderationem animi tui et æquitatem') as from a dread of appearing to do you a dishonour in a place and at a time when you, of all men, were entitled to all honour. I therefore would not trust my own judgment, but before the sermon was preached took the advice of my two most revered and dearest friends upon it, both of whom knew thoroughly my connection with you (if I may speak so without undue presumption) and your connection with this place, and both of whom were dissatisfied with me at the time of the last Oxford Election because I could not bring myself to vote for you—as one of them did, and the other would have done had he possessed a vote—I mean Mr. Barter and his brother, the Warden of Winchester. They both heard every word of the sermon previously, and I was prepared to have altered or suppressed any portion of it in accordance with their judgment (and two men better competent to judge of such a case it would be scarcely possible to find). But they both expressed their opinion most positively in approval of the sermon as it stood, adding that I could *not say less and do my duty*. Of course, my regret at being compelled to differ from you, and publicly to express the difference, as I have done, is only increased by all that has occurred since on your part; and not least by the letter which has given me so much pleasure, and which I accept as entirely due to your friendly representations.

I see the *Jew Bill* has passed, but by the *smallest majority by which the principle of the Bill has ever yet been affirmed* (see the 'Edinburgh Courant' for Saturday). Is there no hope in this? I also see that the Ministry are again in a minority, which must, I suppose, compel a change or a Dissolution.

Your great and undeserved kindness and condescension to me when you were here would have tempted me to say more than I did upon public affairs had you remained longer. Even now I am half-inclined to ask whether you would care to know the opinions of men like Isaac Williams and Mr. Joshua Watson, two of the holiest and wisest men left in our poor Communion, upon your present course, and the lingering hopes which are still entertained that you may be induced to modify it? If so, I would send them to you; the former has given me express permission so to do, and I have no doubt I could obtain the same from the latter.

But *moror tua tempora!* Pray forgive me ; and, requesting you to convey to Sir John Gladstone my most hearty and sincere thanks,

Believe me to be, my dear Gladstone,
With increased esteem, admiration, and regret,
Yours most truly and faithfully,

C. WORDSWORTH.

Mr. Gladstone, in his answer, appeared to great advantage. My letter, he said, had given a fresh and very general pleasure to his father. He was sorry that I should have felt the slightest uneasiness about my sermon. Every principle bound him to be tolerant of censure, and thankful for it. Censure was seldom an evil to any of us. Even although we might not be able to accept all its propositions, it was uniformly good. Apart from the deep question of personal discipline, how could any man do *him* a greater favour than by showing him a method of serving the Church, in the State, superior to his own? 'I am not debarred from accepting it by any attachment to the latter as coming near an ideal standard. I took it, as the hard lesson of experience, into my reluctant though deep and strong convictions.' His regret, in listening to sermons such as mine, was but one, and simple ; and it was this—'that high-minded and noble effort should be employed without result.' Under the Providence of God, some good would, no doubt, attend all such efforts as mine. 'I think,' Mr. Gladstone added, 'you are only likely to give me *pain* in one way ; and that is when you speak of "undeserved kindness" as proceeding from me, or "presumption" from yourself. For everything else, my comfort and satisfaction in agreeing with you (as I trust) upon the highest matters absorb and render insensible, almost, our differences upon applications of principle in certain respects.' He would welcome the criticisms by Mr. I. Williams and Mr. Watson with especial reverence. Should he seem obstinate, he could not ask me

to believe that vanity and pride had had no share in begetting his tenacity. All he would ask me to believe was that the subject lay near his heart; that it had had his best and most constant thoughts; and that, if he was worshipping an idol now, that had not been until he had with a great wrench torn himself from *another and a dearer one*.

No one but himself could have thought of attributing to Mr. Gladstone the least inclination to 'vanity' or 'pride.' I am not equally sure that the course which I myself took in my sermon was altogether a judicious one; but the unchristianising of our Legislature was a subject upon which I felt deeply, and I could not help thinking that Gladstone was under a delusion as to the necessity of the 'great wrench' with which, he says, he had torn himself away from worshipping an idol which he admits to be a 'dearer one' than that to which he had begun to transfer his devotion. Moreover, it has always appeared to me that if he could no longer fight the battle in behalf of the 'dearer idol,' he ought at least to have *abstained from fighting against it*; but when he consented to be placed at the head of the Liberal party, this, of course, became more or less unavoidable.

Sir John Gladstone died before the end of that year. In acknowledgment of an extract from the sermon which I preached in the College chapel after his funeral, Mrs. W. E. Gladstone was so good as to send me the following letter:

Fasque: December 20, 1851.

My dear Mr. Wordsworth,—I am most anxious to thank you for your great kindness in sending me the beautiful extract from your sermon; it was most thoughtful in you to give me so much pleasure as the reading of it has given me, and my husband is exceedingly pleased by all you said of his father, *so impressively done*. As regards himself, of course, *he* can say nothing but that he is much gratified by your much too good opinion of *him*,

though almost ashamed ; but *I* may say more, and, indeed, dear Mr. Wordsworth, I could not help being deeply touched and affected. May your words have the effect upon me of making me more thankful for the blessing which has been given me in being his wife ; but may I be more and more humble-minded when I contrast my own unworthiness to his, considering, too, the advantages which have been given me in having such a guide ; and may God give my dear husband grace and strength *not to disappoint your expectations regarding him.*

I wish I could have taken a peep at you and at Trinity College, but I hope the day may not be far distant. You know the deep interest I must ever take in all you are doing, and how thankful we both are that the dear College should have the blessing and the advantage of your care. Will you kindly remember me to Mrs. Wordsworth, and, wishing you all the blessings of this holy season,

Believe me, dear Mr. Wordsworth,

Yours sincerely,

CATHERINE GLADSTONE.

Keble was not among those who were present at the consecration of our College chapel. The following letter accounts for his absence :

Hursley Vicarage : April 10, 1851.

My dear Friend,—With much and very sincere regret I send you this note, instead of filling up the ticket which you have so kindly sent me with my own and my wife's name.

We cannot well leave home for any time before Whitsuntide, and, when we do, our spare time must be for the present reserved for the Isle of Man. At least, so it ought to be.

I fear also that I should appear with too doleful a countenance at your joyful and hopeful assemblage, for such I trust it will be ; but I do not expect to feel as if it could be right for one's self to share in it. However, forecasting is no good.

Come what will, I shall always be, with every kind wish for you and Glenalmond,

Your obliged and faithful

J. KEBLE.

P.S.—I see that my dolefulness may be misunderstood. It is simply sadness at the news of the last day or two, no change of mind whatever.

Manning and Hope were among the deserters at that crisis, and it was with reference to their desertion Gladstone once remarked that he 'felt as if he had lost his two eyes.'

2. *The Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal.*

At this time our Church had only one, and that a very feeble, organ in the periodical press; and I was anxious to see something more and something better set on foot. The result of my efforts was that the 'Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal' appeared at the opening of this year. Mr. (now Sir William) Walker of Bowland kindly undertook as a labour of love to act as Editor, and a most excellent Editor he proved to be.¹ I supplied him with leading articles for the first five or six numbers, and continued to give occasional assistance for some time longer.² The articles led to much interesting correspondence from several quarters. The first leader was based upon two most important documents in modern Greek which my friend W. Palmer had brought from Constantinople and lent me to read. They consisted of the protests which the Patriarchs and other Prelates of the Eastern Church had put out in answer to an 'aggres-

¹ Canon Jebb, a well-known and highly-esteemed Churchman of that time, wrote to me, June 26, 1852: 'It seems to me that the *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal* is far superior to any English paper in the assertion of sound principles, both political and religious, while its calm and temperate tone is above all praise.'

² The following is a list of my more important contributions:—1. The Pope of Rome and the Patriarchs of the East. 2. National Repentance. 3. Religious Toleration. 4. Diocesan Episcopacy proved from the New Testament, in two numbers. 5. Separation of Church and State. 6. Protestant Religion and the Catholic Faith. 7. On the Present Distress in the Church of England. 8. Archbishop of Dublin's Charge and the Bangor Controversy. 9. Presbyterian Ordination. 10. Duke of Argyll and the Oxford Protest. 11. Presbyterian Testimonies in favour of Episcopacy. 12. The Change of Ministry. 13. The Council of Sardica and the Appellate Jurisdiction of the See of Rome. 14. The Parliamentary Oath and the Coronation Service. 15. The Policy of English Churchmen at the present crisis.

sion' on the part of Pope Pius IX. similar to that which had recently caused such great disturbance in England, and the quotations which I made from those documents sufficed to show that we are perfectly at one with the Easterns in regard to the unscriptural and uncatholic claims and pretensions of the Church of Rome. From Wilson I had the satisfaction of learning 'the very great pleasure that Mr. Keble had in reading the article: he has several times mentioned it, saying he "never read anything of yours he liked so much."' My leader in the second number of the journal, on 'National Repentance,' dealt with the relations of Church and State in England, and with the uneasy feelings of English Churchmen in regard to them, and was the first of several which I contributed bearing more or less upon the same subject. It brought me letters from men of mark, indicating high approval on the part of some, and disapproval scarcely less decided on the part of others. As the subject is still a deeply important, not to say 'a burning,' one, even more, perhaps, than it was forty years ago, it may interest my readers to see some specimens of both kinds. To take the objectors first, because from them the nature of my argument will be more readily understood.—

1. F. Rogers (afterwards Lord Blachford), who, as appears from Dean Church's 'Reminiscences,' was very intimate with Newman, and had been trained in his school, wrote to me (March 17, 1851) as follows :

9 The Square : March 17, 1851.

My dear Wordsworth,—Thanks for your letter. I am glad you were satisfied with the 'Guardian' notice, and that your journal is getting on so well. Like I. Williams, I was much interested in the article on Gladstone. I have no doubt you are in a great measure right in tracing his change of view to Newman's views. And I quite agree with you and I. W. that those who are conscious of having drawn a great part of their views from J. H. N. should review them carefully. I have long

been engaged in that process myself, though with what result I should find it difficult to say. But I must own that, though your article interested me much, it did not convince me. I mean that I feel that the Church's policy in political matters should be not to attempt to regain her old 'Church and King' advantages so much as to disentangle herself from the old 'Church and King' embarrassments. I quite agree that if I were a despot, or a member of a Legislature which agreed with itself in matters of religion, it would be a *matter of principle* to give that religion an ascendancy to which it would have a just political right. But, viewing the nation as self-governing—which it seems to me to be, in fact, and which, at any rate, is the only aspect of it in which I am at all responsible for the Government—and seeing that the nation is not really the Church, or anything at all like it, I do not feel that I should have a *right*, even if I had the power, to force on it a Church character which would only be external. Much less, of course, do I think it a matter of principle to do so. So much as a citizen. As a Churchman, I look to the advantage of the Church. I should wish to proselytise, and, if the Church can do so successfully, the old Church and State order of things, or some fresh form of it, would revive. But I do *not* conceive this probable. On the other hand, I *do* think it probable that the so-called union of Church and State will be made a means of *unchurching her*. And, therefore, the question being to my mind one of *prudence*, it seems to me more prudent to prepare for what *is* likely to come, and provide against its dangers, than to hanker after what is not likely to revive, and play for its advantages. I don't admit that there is more *faith* in one course than the other. To cling to the State, or to throw it up, may equally be represented as an act of faith. It seems to me a case where we are bound to use that measure of thought and foresight which God may have given us, and frame our course, as best we can, according to them.

Observe, I don't undervalue the immense advantages of the connection with the State, either past or present. The parochial machinery is an enormous instrument for good. May it last *at least our time* in its present form! As a citizen, I feel it hopeless to resist Cobdenism, Utilitarianism, Peelism—or whatever you choose to call it. It is really the expression of the

will, more or less consistent, of the middle-class constituency of England. I therefore take little interest in politics, but only wish to see the Church establish herself on a basis beyond their sphere, from which, if left to herself, she *may* act on the people itself, and so most powerfully and really on the tone of politics, and without which, it seems to me, she must be Cobdenised with the rest of the Constitution. This is a long prose, and not a very hopeful one. However, I think it is a good thing for people to knock their heads together a little about means, if they are really agreed as to the end.

Ever yours most truly,

F. ROGERS.

2. From R. F. Wilson, who was Keble's curate at Ampfield, and may be regarded as representing his sentiments (which, it must be said, he puts very clearly and forcibly), came the following, dated April 2, 1851 :

I have been a diligent and applauding reader of the 'Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal.' Please to bear with me, however, while I make a few remarks on your paper on National Repentance. It seems to me there is something faulty in your theory. Does it not imply that national repentance involves the *retracing* the steps which have been made in a wrong direction as necessary in order to repentance? That there is no other course but to undo first what ought not to have been done? Is there, then, no political truth in the saying, 'feri non debuit, factum valet'? An act of the Legislature may have been wrong, and have placed the country in a lowered and disadvantageous condition; yet, having been solemnly passed and ratified, it may be right to maintain it. Let me illustrate what I mean, both as to nations and individuals. The Jews did wrong in asking a king; but, having asked and received one, national repentance did not require the casting-off that form of Government. Again, when the Kingdom of the Twelve Tribes was dismembered, do you think that the Ten Tribes did not return into the favour of Almighty God except by returning to their allegiance to the House of David? Again, as to religious matters, was not the mission of Elijah and Elisha to them in their *then* political state? Would God's blessing have been withheld from them until they returned

again to the worship *at Jerusalem* as their forefathers had observed it? To take the case of an individual. How does your principle allow of such an one as Daniel being Prime Minister of the King of Persia, unless he made the establishment of the true worship of God a *sine quâ non* on accepting office? Again, Balaam was not bidden go back when he had improperly committed himself to Balak. He was to show his repentance of the step he had wrongly taken, not by retracing it, but by his future conduct in the line he had adopted.

Is there not an analogy between the false and sinful steps of nations and of individuals in this : that, once taken, they may be in such sort brought into new social relationships, and be brought across new duties, and with the lines of old duties crossing so differently that to retrace is impossible, or would even, in some cases, involve some worse moral guilt? Take the case of a child contracting a marriage against a parent's consent. The step is sinful, but cannot be retraced. The new position has brought a new sphere of duties, and modified and changed the aspect and *practical* details of the old ones. Or suppose a person in a matter of profession placing himself, with sinful weakness, in a position of great danger to his principles. His line of duty may be, not to retrace his steps, but to face the difficulties into which he has brought himself, and continue for the rest of his career in a position of constant inferior spiritual advantages to those of that line to which duty called him, and which he had abandoned. It may be he could not withdraw from the new position he had taken, notwithstanding its perils, without greater sin than continuing in it.

I think, then, your theory too stiffly exact. It is a *θέσις*—rather than what can be applied to the *ἐν οἷς ζῶμεν*.

1. It seems to me no Donatising spirit to seek to withdraw Church matters from Parliamentary settlement, as Parliament is at present constituted. It simply recognises a fact: that, here being an assemblage gathered upon no principle of agreement in religious faith,—provided only its members profess any form of Christianity,—it is not fitting it should rule the internal administration of the Church. It is not withdrawing from men making the same profession, but simply protesting against the intrusion and paramount authority of a power which has no sympathy with the Church as such, and is not of her.

2. I think a statesman, finding such a state of things, may well decline to be tied to this principle as a set theory. He is not bound to expose happy inconsistencies in the No Establishment Theory. He may, on the other hand, very well promote and maintain institutions or practices, though inconsistent with the prevailing State theory. I do not see that he is bound either, on the one hand, to abandon them because anomalous, or, on the other, to accept nothing short of their distinct legal recognition, and of the restoration of the ancient state out of which they naturally grew.

The actual state of Christendom at large and of our own Christian population seems to me to compel the statesman, and, I should say, the Churchman too, to accept and recognise as the condition of this Church and realm in particular that which is imperfect, marred, and broken. He can only aim at effecting national good—*κατὰ δεύτερον πλοῦν*—in a second-best way, and be thankful if he have not to fall back on something lower. I cannot see the soundness of the statement 'that the law which establishes or tolerates the true Episcopacy repudiates the false,' if by 'repudiates' is meant, not simply 'does not *legally* recognise,' but 'refuses to permit at all any other Episcopate.'

I hope my criticisms will be intelligible, and that, at any rate, you will not look upon me as a thoroughgoing utilitarian. Our kind remembrances to Mrs. Wordsworth; and believe me,

Yours ever most sincerely,

R. F. WILSON.

3. From Dr. Rorison, of Peterhead :

March 25, 1851.

Dear Mr. Warden,—I am much obliged by your kind note and its very interesting enclosure.

Shall I confess that even your able and earnest pleading has not unsettled a conviction which has long been growing in my mind, that the political establishment of the Christian Church has been a perennial source of spiritual corruption and an impediment in the way of catholic unity? The notions of political status and temporal privilege, when mixed up with religious controversy, engender a bitterness and an angry contempt from which truth must suffer as much as charity. The policy which seems in the ascendant, both in Church and State, and which is

directly traceable to concessions on the one side and claims on the other fatal, as I think, or at least fraught with peril, alike to faith and freedom, fills me, I own, with deep distrust, and constrains me to differ from those with whom I would fain agree. That *Political Prelacy* with which we are threatened, which is alternately obsequious when firmness is wanted and valiant when no danger exists (and every Whig appointment shows this to be the ideal), will neither do the work nor attract the reverence of the *primitive Episcopate*. And I do think that the times are so diseased, and the irreligious element in the State so strong, that the Church in this country will never be as it ought to be till a thorough reform of all its State relations takes place, and till its spiritual offices cease to be a bait which a Premier may dangle at his pleasure.

Nothing, indeed, can be more desirable in the abstract than an adequately-endowed and, at the same time, spiritually free Church, the companion and ally, not vassal, of the State, in a united Christian nation. Such Church and nation might grow from a colony in which not only was religion, *ab initio*, an element in the social compact, but in which its *bonâ-fide* influence, under one definite dogmatic system, had kept pace with the social development. But *with us* the latter condition has been wanting for centuries; nor can it be *restored* through the same machinery by which it might have been *maintained*. Our historical traditions must, I do believe, surrender to the times, if we would not have the times victorious over what we hold infinitely more sacred than the British traditions of the Stuart dynasty. We cannot resuscitate the Church and State doctrine of the great Caroline divines, any more than we can reinstate the dynasty with which that doctrine fell. We must accept the double Revolution as *un fait accompli*—a political change leaving ‘no place for repentance’—the introduction of a new social platform, on which it is our duty to rear anew under other conditions the shattered superstructure of national religion. National religion, at the fall of the Stuarts, ceased to be possible through kings and Parliaments; it is only possible now through influences specifically popular. The Roman Catholics seem aware of this, as do Mr. Maurice and others in the Church of England. Whether right or wrong in their political and economical judgments, they are right, I think, in the *principle* of allying religion

with the great social questions of the time. To influence the age, we must sympathise with it.

Excuse me, dear Mr. Warden, for obtruding on you at such length; and believe me, with much affection and respect,

Your faithful servant,

GILBT. RORISON.

I am induced to print the foregoing letters, not so much for their own intrinsic value in my opinion, but because, as coming from Churchmen of acknowledged ability and high character, the arguments have a claim to be considered stronger than if they had come from mere worldly politicians or from Nonconformists. Now *audire alteram partem*.—

1. From Isaac Williams :

Stinchcombe : March 3, 1851.

My dear Wordsworth,— . . . I liked much an article in the second number of the 'Scottish Ecclesiastical,' which traced Gladstone's change of views on Church and State to Newman. In consequence of seeing some fearful things in Newman's late publications, I wrote to John Keble to say that I thought we, who had been so much with Newman, ought to review many of our opinions, and see how far we may have taken them up from what he used to say, rather than from our own convictions, *for Newman used to say many things about our own position as Anglicans and the Church of Rome for years before it was known that he was secretly, in his own mind, giving up the former for the latter.* And, indeed, he was often unconscious of it himself. . .

Believe me ever yours very sincerely,

ISAAC WILLIAMS.

2. From Joshua Watson to my Brother :

Clapton : March 3, 1851.

. . . Many thanks for Isaac Williams's note. It is truly cheering—a bright spot in our darkened horizon. But I have no hope of its moving our old friend. He had long been my only stay and confidence among the politicians of the day; for I was persuaded he was our Abdiel, and I believe still he will ever act conscientiously. But if his religious conscience was warped by

intercourse with Newman, so, I fear, his political conscience has been perverted by association with Peel. Still, however, he is much too good to be given up in despair. Let us see what effect the Warden's most admirable article produces, and how he deals with colonial questions, Church reserves, &c., &c.

3. A letter from Burghclere (March 27, 1851) informed me that Mr. Barter, formerly Fellow of Oriel, and a great friend of both Newman and Keble, was just then too much occupied to write himself, but desired to say that

he entirely agrees with your view on the subject, and entirely disagrees with Mr. Rogers. To believe that England must inevitably be Cobdenised is to prepare the way for its being Cobdenised; it is *projicere arma*, it is *locum virtutis deserere*; it is a miserable, wretched policy, totally unworthy of a man who trusts in God, and who knows that from the slightest circumstances He can bring the most beneficial as well as the most disastrous results. . . . In short, he considers all such principles as those advocated in Mr. Rogers's letter to be foolish and traitorous.

4. From my Brother :

Stanford, Faringdon : March 28, 1851.

My dearest Brother,—Many thanks for a sight of the correspondence on the subject of your article. It appears to me that the whole question resolves itself into one very simple proposition : What is the declared will of God on the matter ?

You have, I think, shown unanswerably that the Divine Ruler of the world *has* spoken on the subject, and, therefore, *causa finita est* ; and all objections drawn from present difficulties (which are doubtless great) are only so many trials of *faith* and tests of *obedience*, and are thus the occasions and materials of future glory.

No one who believes that Scripture is God's Word can doubt the fact that the time is coming when 'all the kingdoms of the world will become the kingdom of the Lord and of His Christ.'

This consummation, we there read, will be a subject of joy and congratulation to angels.

Surely they who act on a firm faith in this consummation,

and do not weaken any of the foundations of national religion, but endeavour to strengthen them, in full reliance that God's promise will one day be fulfilled, in spite of man's weakness and wickedness, and who labour and pray that the kingdom in the world to which they themselves belong may be more soundly and completely a 'kingdom of the Lord and of His Christ,' are doing God's Will, and, even in proportion to the difficulties with which they have now to contend in doing it, will be rewarded with greater blessedness at the Great Day.

It appears to me that our admirable friend W. Gladstone, and those who are now working with him, have made one great mistake, which is at the root of all their errors, and a main source of their weakness, which is daily increasing.

They appear to think it necessary, or at least very desirable, that they should be *in possession of political power*; and they seem also to be convinced that they cannot obtain *power without shaping their principles and practice to suit the present bias of the popular will*. They reason and act from below instead of from above, from earth instead of from heaven, from man instead of from God.

As long as this is the case they must be entangled with perplexities and beset with embarrassments; and they will not attain even their secular end, temporal power; and, even if they did, they could not keep it. But, on the contrary, if G. had never renounced his first principles, if he had not voted for Maynooth, &c., and the Jew Bill, &c., then I do not say (for I do not know *that*) he would now be Prime Minister; but this I do say, for I feel satisfied of it, he would be now the greatest man in England. And I need not add that England herself would then have been, and would be, in a very different state from that in which she is now, or is likely to be for some time to come.

Ever, my dearest Brother,

Yours affectionately,

CHR. WORDSWORTH.

I will only add that Wilson's remarks upon the maxim, *fieri non debuit*, &c., appear to me very questionable. The maxim, I imagine, does not apply to matters of strictly moral obligation. What is essentially wrong can never

become right. Suppose a marriage to have been solemnised in uncanonical hours. In such a case the rule applies. But suppose a man has married a divorced woman : ought not the marriage to be broken off? So, too, in regard to a sinful vow. Shakespeare was right (as Bishop Sanderson has proved at length) when he wrote :

It is great sin to swear unto a sin ;
But *greater sin* to keep a sinful oath.

Second part of ' King Henry VI.,' act v. scene 1.

Again, in ' King John,' act iii. scene 1 :

For that which thou hast sworn to do amiss
Is more amiss when it is truly done.

But how in regard to marriage without the consent of parents? Such consent is proper and becoming; but it cannot be said to be indispensable. It may have been improperly withheld, and a marriage contracted without it ought not to be broken off.

Another of the articles I have mentioned was that noticed by Canon Harington, of Exeter, writing on August 23, 1851 :

My dear Sir,—I read with the greatest pleasure the admirable article in the 'Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal' 'On the Present Distress of the Church in England.' With Mr. Barter's sentiments I fully concur; but really the 'tenderness' and 'sympathy' which some people exhibit and feel towards *Rome* is one of the worst features of the day. They seem to forget her monstrous corruption; and I believe many of them hesitate not to *admit* her assumed supremacy, at least over the *Western* Church, instead of regarding all her pretensions, from the 'Donation of Constantine' downwards, as based upon fraud and falsehood. These are hard words; but I believe them to be true. The position taken in the 'S. E. J.' will do much, by God's blessing, to counteract these dangerous opinions.

Believe me, my dear Sir,

Very truly yours,

E. C. HARINGTON.

This letter of Canon Harington shows the state of uneasiness and dissatisfaction into which the minds of sober High Churchmen were thrown at that time through the inaction of their leaders; and the same is manifested in the following extract of a letter which I received from the Editor of the 'English Churchman':

March 28, 1851.

Dear Sir,— . . . It is very perplexing to see 'High Churchmen' contending for 'religious liberty' to the extent of admitting Jews into Parliament, and *saying* as well as *doing* nothing to oppose Romanism. 'D. C. L.' and his friends, who have now got the theological department of the 'Morning Chronicle,' will, I fear, do *us* much injury in public and private. . . . I wish we could draw out such men as Dr. Pusey, Mr. Keble, and Dr. Moberly, to show that they do still believe that there is such a thing as definite Roman error. But they are all *silent*; and, of course, their admirers follow their example. I feel half-disposed to call upon them publicly by name to stand forward in these days of secession to Rome.

Among our contributors to the 'Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal' were Mr. Gladstone, who, at my request, wrote a notice of my brother's 'Memoirs' of the poet Wordsworth, which appeared in the July number, 1851; and Mr. Arthur Gordon (now Sir A.), son of Lord Aberdeen, the Premier, who sent us several articles on 'The Court and Camp of James II. in 1689, from Unpublished Letters of Count d'Avaux to Louis XIV. and others.' A friend of Barry's, he took great interest in the College, and paid us several visits. From him I learnt to expect that R. Cecil (now Lord Salisbury), whom he knew intimately, would sooner or later become Prime Minister.

My fuller and more mature views upon the subject of the union of Church and State were given in a sermon preached later in the same year (September 10, 1851), at Kidderminster, under the title of 'National Christianity

an Article of the Christian Faith,' and afterwards published at the request and expense of my friend Claughton. That sermon, like my article on 'National Repentance,' had the fate of encountering strong opposition (especially from the 'Morning Chronicle,' then in the hands of a party of High Churchmen, who had begun to advocate 'the political equality of all religions'), and of being welcomed with high approval. I venture to insert a specimen of the approval, from Canon Heurtley, Margaret Professor of Divinity at Oxford :

Great Malvern : September 26, 1851.

My dear Sir,—I beg to thank you sincerely for your kindness in sending me a copy of your sermon preached at Kidderminster. It reached me just before I left home for a few days' sojourn at this place. I glanced over it shortly after I received it; but I have not had an opportunity of reading it with the care and attention I could wish till to-day. I have now to thank you, not only for your kindness in sending me the sermon, but for much valuable matter on points of engrossing interest in the sermon itself, especially for the setting forth of the great principle which pervades it—that the authority with which Christ is invested extends to the things of this life as well as to those of the next. If we are brought severally to realise this, and act upon it in our private home walk, we may with most confidence hope that the nation may eventually be brought to do it as a nation.

Believe me to be, dear Sir,

Very truly yours,

C. A. HEURTLEY.

The attack of the 'Morning Chronicle' was so violent, not only against the sermon itself, but against its author, whom it represented as having 'alienated the confidence' of all portions of the Church in this country, and so having failed in his administration of Trinity College, that it caused not a little indignation. Mr. Smythe of Methven, a leading member of the Council, wrote to me most kindly (November 26) to say that the members of Council were prepared to

put forth a counter-statement, to the effect that the allegations of the 'Morning Chronicle' were utterly untrue, and expressive of the entire confidence which they had in my administration of the College. This, accordingly, was done; but the 'Morning Chronicle' declined to insert the document, upon the plea that it had been previously circulated, which was not the fact. It had been printed for the convenience of transmission to the members of the Council, but nothing more. It appeared, however, in other papers, and is to be seen *in extenso* in the 'Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal' for December: together with a number of the answers received by the Secretary of the College, Mr. Reid, in approval of its terms; and among the rest the following from Bishop Torry, which I quote as a proof that the part I had taken in the matter of the Prayer Book had caused no alienation between us:

I hereby fully authorise you to append my name, in connection with the rest of the Trustees of Trinity College, in confutation of the slander which appeared in the 'Morning Chronicle' lately under signature of E. M., and expressive also of my entire confidence in the learning, piety, and faithfulness of the Warden of that noble institution.¹

The Bishop of Moray (Eden) wrote December 1, 1852:

Will you allow me to assure you of the pain and regret with which I have witnessed the recent attacks upon you in the 'Morning Chronicle?' . . . I heartily concur in the step proposed to be taken by the Council, and could have wished the statement had been more strongly worded.

It is painful to recall proceedings such as those which led to this action on the part of the College Council, and I should greatly have preferred to allow them to remain in

¹ After his first and only visit to Trinity College in October 1847, he had written to me to 'express his great admiration of all the arrangements of that institution, and the admirable discipline into which the students have already been brought.'

oblivion; but the record of them will not be without its use if it serves to deter any from yielding to the baneful and debasing influences of party spirit, which in ecclesiastical matters, even more than in political, is seen to produce such utterly unchristian and disreputable effects. The following letter from the Warden of Winchester refers to the same occasion, and also to an article which I contributed to the same (December) number of the 'Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal,' under the title of 'The Duke of Argyll and the Oxford Protest':

College: December 22, 1851.

My dear Wordsworth,—. . . I read last night your article on the Duke of Argyll, and that on you and the 'Morning Chronicle.' I am delighted with both. Will the Duke read that article, and will anyone read it, except those who take in the journal? It ought to be as public as possible. I should really hope the Duke himself may be influenced by it; at any rate, it is the exact instruction that is wanted by all just now. But the Queen will never see it, nor Prince Albert; and those are the two whom it most concerns. Can you not give it a wider circulation than the journal can give?

I was most deeply interested in the other paper, and I read it with very mixed feelings. I have never seen the letters in the 'Morning Chronicle;' but it makes one's blood boil to think that people calling themselves Churchmen should dare to attack you as it seems they have done. I must get the obnoxious papers, and shall be able to do so. On the other hand, it is worth while to be attacked in order to be so defended. Your old Bishop's letter gave me the most pleasure of all. Who put that article together? It is well done, I think.

You have that great testimony to your conduct that all men do not speak well of you; but of the Church in general, and of the Scottish Church in particular, you have merited all the grateful returns that good men can heap upon you. I pray that God may bless all your efforts, not for your own sake—though no one can be more dear to me—but mainly because with your cause the cause of true principle will stand or fall. . . .

Ever your affectionate

R. S. BARTER.

In 1831 I published, for the use of divinity students, a small tract entitled 'Credenda,' consisting of the summary paraphrases (which our own students were required to learn by heart) of the several Articles of the Apostles' Creed, taken from Bishop Pearson's 'Exposition'; and it was printed so as to form a companion to Keble's 'Selections from the Fifth Book of Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity."'

By lending books to the students out of my own library I was able to carry out a suggestion made by Waterland in these words: 'Sermons contain as much and as good divinity as any other discourses whatever, and might be digested into a better *body of divinity* than any that is yet extant' ('Advice to a Young Student,' 'Works,' vol. vi. p. 311). I formed such a body of divinity by a series of upwards of sixty sermons, selected out of the works of our standard divines, and systematically arranged. The volumes containing them were put into circulation among the students; and each student was required every week to write, and submit to my correction and criticism, an abridgment of the contents of one of the sermons, so that they would all in due time severally go through the entire course. My readers who are interested in theological subjects, and may like to see what the selection was, will find it in the Appendix, pp. 217-223.

In its early days the College had the honour of receiving as its visitors Bishop S. Wilberforce, of Oxford (as we have seen), in 1847, and Bishop Phillpotts, of Exeter, in the summer of 1852, the most distinguished Prelates of that generation on the English Bench. At that time no attempt, I think, had yet been made to found a Theological College in the English Church (something of the kind was going on at Wells under Mr. Pinder; but Cuddesdon was not founded till 1854); and Bishop Phillpotts, hoping to be

able to set the example in his own diocese, wished to come and judge for himself of the arrangements and working of our Senior Department. Having occasion to write to me on another matter, he mentioned that he was purposing (although then, as he told me, in his seventy-fifth year) to visit Scotland, and would like to include Trinity College in the objects of his journey. The invitation which I sent him elicited the following answer, which, it will be seen, is interesting as showing how cautious he was—indeed, over-cautious—to avoid giving cause for offence, and as indicating the opinion he entertained of our Scottish Communion Office: ¹

Bishopstowe, Torquay: June 10, 1852.

My dear Sir,—I am very much obliged by your most hospitable invitation, and shall be eager to avail myself of it, if possible, on Saturday the 19th, remaining with you on Sunday the 20th.

Permit me here to interpose an inquiry. Is that Sunday the day on which your Scottish Office of the Holy Communion will be used, for I understand that it is used with you alternately? If it be I shall rejoice to be a communicant at your chapel, for I need not say that I greatly prefer the Scottish Office to our own. But in that case I should not bring my robes with me, for I could not prudently celebrate, if you should even ask me. My reason is that, having, by subscribing to the Declaration in our 36th Canon, promised that I will use no other Liturgy but our own, I should be unwilling to submit myself to attack for breaking this promise. I am aware it may be urged (reasonably, I think) that such a promise extends only to the use in the Church of England, and I should not blame another for acting on this view of the case. But I think it would be specially imprudent in me to give occasion to idle and vexatious attacks. . . .

Yours, my dear Sir,

Very faithfully,

H. EXETER.

¹ If, however, the whole truth is to be told, it must be added that Bishop Wilberforce (whose little volume, entitled *Eucharistica*, 1839, shows he had early paid attention to the subject) was not of the same mind. On the contrary, he greatly disliked the Scotch Office, and even went so far as to say—so Bishop Ewing assured me—that he considered it heretical.

3. *Letter to Gladstone—Oxford Elections, 1851–3.*

I am sorry to have to enter upon another politico-ecclesiastical episode, in which I must appear, to my great distress, at further variance with Mr. Gladstone. At the end of 1851, writing in the character of a Scottish Churchman, he put forth a pamphlet in the form of 'A Letter to the Rev. William Skinner, D.D., Bishop of Aberdeen and Primus, on the Functions of Laymen in the Church.' In that publication, whilst advocating the just claims of the laity for admission into Church councils, he went out of his way to propound the principles of so-called 'religious liberty,' and in so doing carried his speculations and reasonings to such a length as to leave no solid standing-room between the views he was recommending and the adoption of pure Voluntaryism, or, in other words, the separation of Church and State. In those days it was a favourite argument with him to urge that, 'having yielded the principle' in the State's treatment of religion, howsoever faulty the original concession may have been, we could not stop where we were—we must go further: the concession was 'a point not to be argued upon, but to be argued from.' To which I was wont to reply that because in his individual capacity a man may have broken three or four of the Ten Commandments, it does not follow that he is to break the remainder (although the Evil Spirit may endeavour to persuade him); and in like manner it was the duty of the State rather to endeavour to undo, as far as may be, what has been done amiss, than to make it worse by persisting in a mistaken course.¹ This he was unwilling to acknowledge.

¹ I am glad to be able to quote the authority of Dr. Arnold in support of that remark. 'It is, then, no slight thing, of which the solemnity of our Sovereign's coronation, performed as it is in the Church of God, and combined with the highest act of Christian communion—the partaking of the Lord's Supper—is our pledge and assurance. It is our pledge that the law

Therefore, in the pamphlet to which I am referring, he argued that the State, having ceased to be consistent in its religious profession (as, for example, by the Presbyterianism accepted and guaranteed for Scotland), its true policy now required that *no limit should be set to its inconsistency*: 'our first duty must be to see . . . that the development of conscientious convictions, in whatever quarter, is not artificially impeded by legislative meddlers,' but 'promoted in the highest attainable degree'; and he breaks out, somewhat impatiently, 'Away with the servile doctrine that religion cannot live but by the aid of Parliaments!' (p. 10). Again: 'Freedom of conscience impartially granted to a variety of Communions directly serves the social purposes for which States exist' (p. 12). Again: 'When I speak of a lover of religious freedom, I mean one who, desiring the full enjoyment of it for his own Communion, is not willing only, but anxious, as he prizes the sacred principle of justice, to accord to all other religious bodies *precisely the same measure*. Let a minister adopt this for the principle of his ecclesiastical policy—to deal liberally with religious communities, and *give them all fair-play*' (p. 13). Upon these and other grounds, I complained

and Government of our country shall be Christian. It is our pledge that this nation shall be guided in those principles to which each of us was pledged at his baptism. And if we say that this pledge is often broken, and that our Government and laws have left good undone and done evil, is it not even in this same way that we, each of us, have broken our pledges made? And yet is it not true that whatever of good we have done, in the whole course of our lives, has been done when we did not break those pledges, but fulfilled them? And should we act the more wisely by renouncing those pledges altogether because we many times break them, or by amending our lives with all diligence, that so we may break them less and fulfil them more? Even so should we cherish every pledge of our national Christianity; not foolishly and wickedly renouncing it, to make our principles as bad as our practice, but clinging to it, and using it to reprove and shame our evil practice, if it may be that our practice may itself become better.'—*Sermons*, vol. iv. p. 445 sq.

that he 'had veered from one extreme quarter of speculation to its opposite,' and that he 'was embarking upon a sea which he had not fathomed, and had neither chart nor compass to direct him in his course.'

Did I do right in coming forward to answer that pamphlet? For some time previously I had been working hard in support of the principles which the writer appeared to me, not, indeed, openly to assail, but insidiously to undermine. Not only by my sermons preached at Fasque and at the consecration of our chapel, but by my articles in the Scottish 'Ecclesiastical Journal' and by my Kidderminster sermon, I had assumed, it might be said, the character of a champion of those principles; and this Mr. Gladstone knew. Could I be silent when he himself appeared on the other side, and that not in an ordinary way, as appealing merely, or mainly, to English readers, but in a letter to the Primus of our Scottish Church, thus not only involving it in the controversy, but claiming, as might be thought, its countenance and support in behalf of his own sentiments, laying stress, as he did, upon its disestablished position as a fact to be acquiesced in rather than deplored? In short, Mr. Gladstone's letter, coming when it did and as it did, although not, I am sure, so intended, appeared like a challenge to me to vindicate the cause I had taken up. Under cover of a suggestion for the admission of laymen to our Church councils—a suggestion for which much was to be said, and which has since, to some extent, been carried into effect—I seemed to detect the insinuation of what tended, as I thought, to the full adoption of the principle of 'the political equality of all religions.' More than this, it looked to me as if since Sir R. Peel's death (June 1850) Mr. Gladstone, being out of office, and having finally separated himself from the Conservative party, saw more than ever the importance of attaching to himself the Dissenting

interest of every kind—that interest which he has since called ‘the backbone of the Liberal party.’

Actuated by these convictions (although I could not but feel keenly, not only my utter insufficiency as a controversial antagonist to Mr. Gladstone, but also the pain of placing myself in open opposition to one with whom, whilst I was under no personal obligation to him, I had held friendly relations for so many years, and for whom, howsoever much I might lament the change in his political position as, in my opinion, pregnant with danger to the best interests of both Church and State, I continued to entertain very high esteem), I set to work, and in my Christmas holidays produced a reply, which was published by Parker, Oxford, in February 1852, under the title, ‘A Letter to the Right Honourable W. E. Gladstone, M.P. for the University of Oxford, on the Doctrine of “Religious Liberty,” as propounded in his Letter to the Bishop of Aberdeen and Primus.’ In that pamphlet my principal aim was to meet as best I could Mr. Gladstone’s reasoning in behalf of his new theory, as derived from a due regard (1) to Religious Peace, (2) to Social Justice, and (3) to Divine Truth. I had no difficulty in showing, by quotations from his former writings, how utterly inconsistent in principle these new views were with those which he had formerly advocated in his book on the relations of Church and State with equal zeal: how, for example, the ‘religious peace’ which he now invited us to seek in indifference to, or rather in impartial encouragement of, every form of religious profession, he then warned us to shun as nothing else than ‘moral *debility* and *death*, wrapped in thin disguise, and entitled *peace*’ (p. 19); how the ‘social justice’ which he now pleaded for he formerly maintained it was ‘no hot or rash exaggeration to call *social atheism*’ (p. 24); and how, so far from considering that indifference of encouragement

to religious error, or to a multitude of religious professions, on the part of the State, was consistent with 'Divine truth,' he then denounced it as 'enhanced guilt,' and as 'certain to bring down upon us national ruin' (p. 29 *sq.*); and, most remarkable, perhaps, of all his inconsistencies, whereas he now did not hesitate to write, 'Let a Minister (of State) adopt this for his principle of religious policy—to deal liberally with religious communities, and give them all fair-play,'—he had formerly declared, concerning that same policy, 'In such a case, I do not hesitate to say, the political function would, from the master-science of the world, be reduced to the lowest science of all arts'; and, again, 'The function of government will be the lowest of all functions, not in an earthly, but in a Christian sense, because it will be the furthest removed from its own proper nature' (p. 21).

It was a satisfaction to me to find that what I had written, although it cost me a severe struggle, approved itself to many competent judges, some personally unknown to me, from whom I received letters of thanks. Our Primus, Bishop W. Skinner, to whom Mr. Gladstone's pamphlet was addressed, thanked me warmly, and 'quite went along with me in all' I had written; so did Bishop Low, Bishop Trower, and Bishop Ewing. Among others, the Dean of Christ Church (Dr. Gaisford) wrote to me, June 11, as follows:

I take this opportunity of thanking you for a copy of your letter to Mr. Gladstone, wherein you have proved to my satisfaction that this gentleman is unfit to represent the University.

From my brother, the late Bishop of Lincoln, came the following, March 16:

Your letter to Gladstone has just reached me, and I cannot delay a day in writing to congratulate you on having been enabled to discharge so effectively a public duty to the Church

and nation. Many, very many, minds, now wavering and distressed by the sad sight of standard-bearers fainting in the field, . . . will be strengthened and cheered by your words, and will thank God for them, as does your loving brother.

Mr. Joshua Watson, the model layman of the English Church during the former half of this century, wrote :

Clapton : April 17, 1852.

My dear Warden,—I thank you heartily, albeit somewhat tardily, for the Gladstone letter. Christopher had, indeed, anticipated the copy ‘from the author,’ and to him I should, I verily believe, have left the expression of my thanks for that welcome remembrance, if I had not strongly felt my own part in the general obligation to you for the sacrifice of personal feelings to public interests. Gladstone had been to me, from the date of his ‘Church and State,’ &c., almost the beau-ideal of a Christian legislator ; and, although I could not but deplore from time to time deflections from his own standard, yet I still clung to him, and excused to myself and to others as well as I could his irregularities in practice, from a confidence that he was still sound in principle. You have painfully disabused me. I had mourned over his Peelism ; but till I read your Letter I had not a notion of the extent to which Peel had perverted his judgments, if I may not say debauched his principles. From my own slight acquaintance with the captivating qualities of the man, I can imagine what the remonstrance must have cost you. Greatly, therefore, do I thank you for it, and earnestly will I pray that he may prize and profit by the wounds of the friend, as I still think he must despise the deceitful kisses of the enemy.

Allow me to make use of this opportunity for discharging a debt which has long pressed upon me—a debt of obligation to the *S. E. Journal*—and believe me to remain, as ever, with unfeigned esteem and regard, dear Warden,

Your affectionate friend,

JOSHUA WATSON.

The Rev. John Miller, whose name, at least, will be remembered by readers of ‘The Christian Year’ (see ‘St. Bartholomew’s Day’), a stranger to me personally, wrote, in a long and most interesting letter, June 9, as follows :

Your letter to Mr. Gladstone—I mean its publication—was surely an act of combined honesty and necessity after what had preceded.

Not the least gratifying was the assurance which I received from Mr. Gladstone himself (March 5). Although he made no attempt to conceal that the wound I had inflicted had 'cut deep,' he was so good as to do full justice to my motives. After thanking me for the manner in which I had 'managed the personal part of the controversy,' he added :

I know quite well the motives on which you act, and gladly renew the assurance that, under such circumstances, what you may say or do will never alter one iota my feelings of personal regard and friendship.

The General Election, which was now at hand, gave to my pamphlet an interest and importance which it might not otherwise have attained. The party opposed to Mr. Gladstone took it up, and requested my permission to print a large impression of it in a cheap form for electioneering purposes.¹ There was an Oxford Election in 1852, when, Lord Derby having come in as Prime Minister, there was a Dissolution; and again in the following year, when Mr. Gladstone had accepted office in the Coalition Ministry of Lord Aberdeen. On both occasions he was opposed, but by candidates so far inferior that they had no chance of success. At the former of those elections I endeavoured to induce Mr. Gladstone's committee to obtain from him a declaration of the principles upon which he was prepared to take his stand,² in which case, if the statement should

¹ Whether or no my arguments produced any effect upon Mr. Gladstone himself I cannot tell; but his pamphlet was not reprinted at the time, and does not appear in the five volumes of his *Gleanings of Past Years*.

² At a later Election, or rather some time before it came on, Sir Thomas Gladstone, elder brother of Mr. Gladstone, a staunch Tory, issued a printed circular to all his brother-electors, urging them to withdraw the privilege by which their candidates were excused from appearing on the hustings, and

prove satisfactory, I promised not only to vote for him, but to exert myself to the utmost in his behalf; but this they declined to do. The result was that I no longer remained neutral, as in 1847, but paired off with friends residing in Scotland. As an indication of the strong revulsion of feeling gradually setting in among Mr. Gladstone's supporters, I may mention that both my friends, who were then staunch Gladstonians, at the next following Election had become equally staunch opponents; and one of them, in expressing his antipathy, went so far as to declare that he was prepared to *walk* all the way from Glenalmond, *with peas in shoes*, to vote against him! When I was with Mr. Gladstone at Fasque in 1847 he had said to me, in the course of an argument on our differences of opinion, that I was the only one of our many friends and acquaintances at Oxford who had declined to vote for him. The time came when the reverse of that statement would have been almost equally true: there was scarcely one who had not withdrawn his confidence from him as a statesman, howsoever, personally, he might still be regarded by many with admiration and esteem.

Mr. Gladstone's letter to the Primus raised the question of the admission of laymen to membership in our Church councils. The Episcopal Synod met May 20, 1851, and passed a resolution favourable, to some extent, to the proposal, and recommending the consideration of it to the Diocesan Synods. It will have appeared, from what has been said above, that I was at first inclined to go along with Mr. Gladstone in the matter; but I had then paid little or no attention to the subject, and when I found that our own Bishop (who had received an urgent letter from Dr. Pusey to dissuade him from it) was strongly opposed

explaining their political principles in person, as one of their members held dangerous opinions, *and was not to be trusted*.

to the measure I felt it my duty to be guided by his judgment, and at our own Synod, held at Kirkealdy, June 16, I delivered an address substantially in accordance with it. The clergy, upon the whole very wisely, determined that the question was one which required further deliberation before they could come to any definite conclusion; and in the meantime they requested me to publish my address. The publication, I have reason to believe, made considerable impression, and nothing more came of the proposal at that time. It will be seen in the sequel that when the same question was revived, nearly twenty years afterwards, in 1870, and it had become my duty to examine it thoroughly for myself by the light of longer experience and more extensive investigation, I was led to revert to my original opinion. In the Charge which I delivered at our Synod of that year I advocated strongly the claims of the laity, and the sentiments which I then expressed I have never since ceased to maintain.

CHAPTER VII

Election to the Bishopric of St. Andrews—Bishop Eden's Candidature—
Protest of the Minority—On the Vote of an Elector—Roundell Palmer on
Episcopal Elections—Letters and Address on Election—Reply to Address.

1. *Election to the Bishopric.*

BISHOP TORRY, then in his eighty-ninth year, died on October 3, 1852. He was buried at St. Ninian's on the 13th, and I was one of the pall-bearers. Not by nature ambitious, I had no desire to become his successor. All I wished was an interesting sphere of active duty; and, what with the boys and the students of divinity, I already had that at Glenalmond. My indifference in the matter of the Bishopric had been shown in several incidents, some of which, as my subsequent conduct suggested erroneous interpretations of my motives, I had better mention.

In January 1851, Dean Torry, contemplating the necessity that his father should have a coadjutor, confidentially wrote to me asking whether I would 'accept that office,' and assuring me of his belief that I should have 'a decided majority of the clergy' if I were willing to be appointed. I did not send him an answer.

In the subsequent March the senior Presbyterian of the diocese, Mr. Lyon, of St. Andrews, wrote me asking whether in the event of Bishop Torry's death, or in that of his resignation, I would allow him to propose me for the vacancy. 'I am confident,' he added, 'that there is no one in the diocese, or, so far as I know, out of it, who would have so many votes as yourself.' My answer, in a letter written on March 18, was in these terms:

Thanking you most heartily for the good opinion you have expressed, and for the confidence you are disposed to place in me, I am prepared to say thus much in reply to your inquiry: Should any other person occur to the Presbytery as likely to be more serviceable to the diocese, I know my own very great imperfections and manifold disqualifications too well to wish for the office you have named, or to set myself up for a moment in opposition to such a candidate; but if, in the opinion of my brethren, no such person is readily to be found, I should not (I think) refuse to place myself in their hands when the proper time arrives, and, with God's help, would endeavour to serve them and the diocese in the best manner that He may give me strength and power to do. I say this having weighed, as impartially as I can, the advantages and disadvantages which would be likely to arise to the Church from one who holds the Wardenship of this College undertaking the additional duties and responsibilities which the office in question would entail upon him. At the same time, should this latter alternative ever actually occur, I should think it right to refer the matter to our College Council, and be guided by their wishes and opinion of the case as to the course which it might be proper for me to pursue.

Friends in England shared my indifference. They disliked the thought of my becoming a Scottish Bishop; which, they feared, would entail banishment from England permanently.

Shortly before the election the Primus had been staying with me at the College. 'The contest,' he remarked on leaving, 'will be close. Remember, you are entitled to vote for yourself.' Now, the prospect of such a proceeding had never occurred to me; but the prospect fulfilled itself.

The election was to be at Coupar Angus, on November 10. It was known that, apart from my own vote, the votes would be equally divided: eight against eight. Naturally, the men who supported me urged that I ought not to allow them to be defeated. Caring little for the issue on my own account, I cared very much on theirs, and on

account of the cause which, represented by them, was also incumbent upon myself. I voted as they urged. The act being conceivably questionable, I announced that I should request the College of Bishops to cancel my vote if they disapproved it; and I wrote to the Primus accordingly.

The act was not, I confess, agreeable to me. It was scarce consistent, in appearance, either with a nice sense of propriety or with Christian humaneness. Still, what could I have done? Plainly it was a case of *e malis eligere minimum*. The candidate brought forward by the opposing party was Bishop Eden, of Moray. Amid circumstances of much difficulty, he, who had had no experience of life and work in Scotland, had been chosen for the Diocese of Moray less than two years before. In sending to the Dean, on October 22, a copy of the letter to Mr. Lyon from which I have cited, I said, after quoting the sentence beginning ‘Should any other person occur to the Presbytery,’—

This I repeat in all truth and sincerity; and I add, moreover, that should you and Mr. Milne and Mr. Lyon—I name you three as holding precedence in the diocese—*agree* to bring forward any other individual in preference to myself, I will most contentedly and gladly support him, whoever he be, provided only that he be not of the Episcopate already; for to a translation (which, I consider, would be iniquitous to the diocese we should propose to rob, and discreditable both to ourselves and to the Bishop so transferred) I not only never could consent, but I would do all I possibly could to oppose it. The Bishop of Glasgow has truly said that the connection between a Bishop and his clergy is of too sacred a character to be lightly severed; and to seek to sever it by translation, when there can be no sufficient ground to justify it, would, on our part, be something very like (in my opinion) to a breach of the Tenth Commandment, and, on the part of the man who could so consent to be separated from the clergy who had previously chosen him, would augur very ill for his fidelity in any other sphere.

With regard to myself: If I am called to the vacant office I have a reasonable hope that God, in His goodness, will give me

strength to perform the duties of it. Nor do I hesitate to reply, to your more immediate question, that I think I see my way to such arrangements as will enable me (if elected) to do full justice to the business of the diocese, without injury or disparagement to the interests of the College; or, if there be some little risk of injury, in *one* direction, to the latter, I am decidedly of opinion that *in other respects, and those of the most important kind*, very considerable advantage would accrue to it if the person who holds the Wardenship were also a Bishop. It is true that my health for some time past has not been strong; but this has not been owing to the stress of my collegiate duties, but, far more, *to the late very peculiar circumstances of this diocese*, in which, from my official position—involving duties to the whole Church—I have felt called on to take an active and most anxious part in the matters of public controversy, from which, if elevated to the Episcopate, I should necessarily, and most gladly, abstain.

All this leads me to say one word in reference to these matters, and to the disadvantage under which I may be thought to lie from the part which I have taken in them.

I can, then, most truly declare that there is no one in the diocese towards whom I entertain an unkind feeling, or with whom I should feel any difficulty whatever in placing myself at once (if I do not stand already) on a footing of friendliness and brotherly love. I might, indeed, say more than this with perfect truth: viz., that those amongst our brethren from whom it may be thought that circumstances have conspired to estrange me most are all of them men for whom, however I may differ from them partly in opinion (if, indeed, our differences be not rather matter of transitory misunderstanding), I feel just and sincere respect. How far a stranger coming amongst us might have advantages over me, who, having had experience of our 'rocks and shallows,' would naturally be desirous to steer clear of them—this is a question which, though you have alluded to it in your postscript, I need not touch upon.

Such was the opinion I had formed and expressed, before I knew that Bishop Eden was to be proposed. Later, moreover (October 26), Bishop Eden himself, having heard that there was some intention of bringing him forward, wrote to me saying that he had declined to be

nominated in opposition to me. 'Only in case of your non-election,' he said, 'would I consent to be elected.' He wrote to the Dean to the same effect. Amid such circumstances, then, apart from all other considerations, I could not think it right to vote for him. The only alternative was to vote for myself. Otherwise there would have been no election.

Still, on reviewing all that had passed, I resolved not to accept the decision. That same night, therefore, I wrote to the Dean as follows :

My dear Mr. Dean,—Having reconsidered, more fully and anxiously than I could do under the excitement of the moment, all the circumstances of our late election, I have come to the determination not to claim my right of voting in my own favour without giving my fellow-Presbyters another opportunity of pronouncing upon the momentous question of a suitable successor to our late Diocesan. I request, therefore, that you will have the goodness to notify this determination to the Primus without delay.

I am, my dear Mr. Dean,

Yours most faithfully,

C. WORDSWORTH.

It happened, also, that on the Dean's part there had been an informality in connection with the return to the Primus, an informality which neutralised the episode. Only he had signed the document. The canon required that it should be signed by a majority of the electors. Thus, on two accounts, another process of election had been rendered necessary; and the Primus appointed November 30 (St. Andrew's Day), at Cupar, Fife, for the fresh proceedings.

On that day, the parties being still, as far as could be ascertained, equal to each other, I received from my supporters, assembled the night before, a document in the terms which follow :

Cupar, Fife : November 29, 1852.

To the Rev. Charles Wordsworth,
Warden of Trinity College.

We, the undersigned, Presbyters of the Diocese of St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane, being impressed with a strong sense of the benefits that would result to the Church in Scotland generally, and to this diocese in particular, from your election to the Episcopate, are most desirous that you should on no account allow any feelings of personal delicacy to prevent you from recording your vote in your own favour at the ensuing election, should such a step prove necessary.

We beg to remind you of two things :

First, That we represent a large majority of the laity of the diocese, the number of souls under our spiritual care being, we believe, more than double the number of those under the charge of the remaining Presbyters of the diocese.

Secondly, That we are, in the aggregate, of older standing in the diocese, and still more so in the ministry, than those who were opposed to your election.

We have, besides, every reason to believe that your election would be highly satisfactory to a large majority of the clergy and laity of the diocese.

Being also persuaded that you, no less than ourselves, have at heart the eventual peace and permanent well-being of this diocese, and that nothing but the purest motives have actuated you in allowing yourself to be proposed for the office of Bishop, on this occasion we urgently entreat you not to suffer the election to be lost, or remain longer undecided, by withholding the vote to which you are undoubtedly entitled.

J. TORRY, *Dean.*
WILLIAM FARQUHAR.
ALEX. J. LYON.
GEORGE WOOD.
NORMAN JOHNSTON.
HENRY MALCOLM.
WILLIAM BRUCE.
WILLIAM BLATCH.

St. Andrew's Eve, 1852.

Bishop Eden having refused to allow his name to be brought forward again, the choice of the opponents fell, after hesitation, upon the Rev. Dr. Luther, of St. George's, Edinburgh. All the opponents were at one in his favour; but before the voting they proposed that I should promise to resign the Wardenship, and that then they would elect me unanimously. I did not feel at liberty to accept the condition. I went so far as to say that if I found myself unable to do full justice to both offices I would not hesitate to act as they desired; but that did not satisfy them. It was only left to me, therefore, to comply with the plea of my supporters; and in a note as follows I intimated that I would accede to the plea:

In compliance with the urgent entreaty from the more important moiety of the Presbyters, I again give my vote for myself, subject, of course, to the approval of the Right Reverend Synod of Bishops, and accompanied with a special request that they will be pleased to cancel the vote if, in their better judgment and more mature experience, they shall see cause to disapprove the step which, after the fullest and most anxious consideration, I have felt it right to take.

C. WORDSWORTH.

It was hoped that, as far as the diocese was concerned, the episode was completed; but, after some little delay, the opponents resolved to carry it further. Headed by Mr. L—— and Mr. G. H. F——, seven out of the eight joined in an appeal to the Episcopal College to cancel my election. The appeal was heard at Aberdeen on January 4. 'The Reasons of Protest,' a remarkable document, was unsparing in its disparagement and vituperation. It accused the Bishop-elect of being a party man, of having unscrupulous ambition, of having canvassed the electors,¹ and of an act—

¹ This charge having been taken up by an English Church newspaper, I wrote to the *Primus* (December 11), before I had heard that there was to be any appeal, requesting that it might be 'investigated in the fullest manner.'

the act of self-election—unheard of in the Catholic Church.¹ It accused him of want of temper, want of judgment, and want of tact. It urged that the office of Bishop and that of Warden were incompatible, and that the combination would prove injurious to the Church and to the College alike; although the College Council, of which Mr. L—— was a member, on being applied to by the Warden, had unanimously passed a resolution to the contrary.² All the pleas were sufficiently rebutted by the ‘Answer’ of my supporters. In connection with the plea last mentioned, a certain fact stated by Dean Torry, when he first proposed me for the Bishopric, on November 10, deserves to be recorded.—

The union of the two offices was fully contemplated in the original projection of Trinity College.

The objections against him [the Dean said] may be divided into two classes—official and personal. Of the former, one has arisen in the minds of some owing to the supposed incompatibility of the two offices of Warden of Trinity College and Bishop of the diocese. To this it is sufficient to reply that they who are surely the best judges in the matter—I mean the Council of the College—have declared that they find no incompatibility between the two offices. On the contrary, it appears that the union of them was fully contemplated in the original projection of that institution.³ And one of its projectors, Mr. William

¹ See *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, 1852, p. 273, where it is stated that in the Diocese of Brechin, in 1847, when there was a contested election, the only Presbyter nominated (who was of the diocese) voted for himself; and that the same thing occurred, amid similar circumstances, in the Diocese of Moray and Ross. In our own diocese, at a meeting of the clergy (at which I was present) on the day of the late Bishop’s funeral, the Synod Clerk, who afterwards joined in the protest, stated his opinion that every Presbyter was at liberty to vote for himself; and that opinion was not challenged. The truth is, it was not my vote that raised the outcry. It was the simple fact that that vote (or any other of the nine) had defeated the opposition.

² See *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, 1852, pp. 236, 269.

³ On August 16, 1850, Bishop Low wrote to me: ‘Lord Thedwyn [father of Mr. G. H. Forbes] proposed to me to have you made a Bishop; and that was my opinion then, and is yet. The two offices would be by no means inconsistent.’

Gladstone, wrote thus, in 1840, to Dean Ramsay : ‘ I would also say that in the Wardenship I hope I perceive the competent future provision for at least one Scottish Bishop.’ Our late Diocesan also, my revered father, gave a strong testimony on this point ; for when, some years ago, it was proposed to him to assume a coadjutor in his diocese, he thus wrote to me : ‘ If I could reconcile myself to having a coadjutor, no person in that capacity would be so acceptable, I suppose, as the Warden of Trinity College.’

A fortnight before the appeal came on for hearing an unexpected light had been thrown, providentially, upon the whole matter. My brother, then Canon of Westminster, in the course of an investigation relating to the affairs of the Abbey Chapter, was led to notice a provision of the canon law by which it is ruled that, in case of a capitular election, when one of the candidates is a member of the elective body and the other is not, if the votes are equal the former is *ipso facto* to have the preference, provided he agree to the election, without giving his own vote—a solution which, with obvious justice, precisely met the difficulty in my own case. It appeared, further, that since the Reformation this principle had been accepted by authorities in England as part of the ecclesiastical law. My brother communicated his discovery in a letter to the ‘ Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal ’ of December 16 :

Sir,—Allow me to submit for consideration through your journal whether the Bishops of the Scottish Church may not deem it unnecessary to entertain the question concerning the validity of the election of a Presbyter by a majority in which his own vote is included—if, indeed, such a question is referred to them—and whether the Warden of Glenalmond was not duly elected antecedently to, and irrespectively of, his own suffrage.

In Dr. Burn’s ‘ Ecclesiastical Law ’ (Article ‘ Cathedrals,’ vol. i. p. 281, Dr. Phillimore’s edition, London, 1842) the doctrine of the canon law of the Western Church in capitular elections is thus stated :

'Where the *votes are equal*, one who is an *elector*, being chosen, shall have the *preference* before one who is *not an elector*. As, for instance, if there are seven votes, and three of them choose one of the seven, and other three choose another who is not of the seven, he of the seven shall have the preference, provided he himself agree to the election.'

Such, I apprehend, was the case in the recent election to the vacant See of St. Andrews; and *unless there be some special canon of the Scottish Church which excepts it from the rules of the canon law of the Western Church*, then it would seem that the Warden of Glenalmond, being an elector, was duly elected by the eight Presbyters who voted for him, and that it only remained for him to signify his assent to the choice thus made, and that it is not necessary that the question of the value of his own vote to constitute a majority should be raised.

Let me conclude by transcribing the passage of the canon law on which Burn's statement rests. It stands thus in the 'Corpus Juris Canonici,' Extra. i. 6, 88, *de Electione*, vol. ii. p. 76, Ed. Lips., 1839: 'Quum unus ex illis septem a tribus ipsorum, et alius qui non erat de numero eorum a tribus aliis in Decanum fuerint nominati, requisisti uter eorum assumi debeat a Capitulo in Decanum. Super quo tibi taliter respondemus, quod is qui de numero septem a tribus eorum dignoscitur nominatus, juxta compromissi tenorem, debet in Decanum admitti, dummodo electioni de se factæ consentiat.'

The reason of which appears to be that he who is qualified to be an elector has, *cæteris paribus*, a prior claim to be elected.

For, otherwise (it might have been added), he who, by being put forward for the office, is supposed by some to be best capable of exercising the suffrage for the Church's good, is deprived altogether of his undoubted right, unless he is to vote *against himself*; and so, because he is thought worthy of a *higher*, is actually placed in a *lower*, position than any of his colleagues. And, further, I may remark, as an illustration of the strict analogy between our own episcopal elections, as they have hitherto been made by the clergy only, and those of Chapters, it was this correspond-

ence¹ which led, in the last century, to the introduction of the title of Dean, instead of Archdeacon.

I wrote to my old friend Roundell Palmer, requesting him to favour me with a legal opinion how far the capitular analogy pointed out by my brother was applicable to my own circumstances. He complied with my request. His opinion was as follows :

Having been requested by the Rev. Charles Wordsworth to state my opinion upon the question of the legal and canonical validity of his election to the Bishopric of St. Andrews, and understanding that the question depends wholly upon the point whether a majority constituted by the accession of his own suffrage to the suffrages of one moiety of the Electoral College (he being an elector, and the person nominated by the rest of the Electoral College being a non-electer) is a legal and canonical majority, I have examined the authorities bearing upon the subject, and I am clearly of opinion that the election by such a majority is legal, canonical, and valid.

The point appears to be directly governed by the answer of Pope Gregory IX. to a question proposed by the Bishop of Bayeux, as stated in the 'Decretals,' Lib. i. Tit. 6, cap. 33; and which answer is referred to and adopted by Bishop Gibson ('Codex,' vol. i. p. 177) and Burn ('Eccles. Law,' vol. i. p. 281, Phillimore's edition), as furnishing the principle on which any similar question ought to be determined by the ecclesiastical law of this country. The question on which the Pope was consulted by the Bishop of Bayeux was this:—Whether there had been a valid election of a Dean by a body of seven Canons specially empowered by the Chapter to choose a Dean, *either unanimously or by a majority*, and either out of their own number or out of the other members of the Chapter? The case, as stated to the Pope, was that three of the seven had voted for one of the seven, and three others for a stranger, the seventh (who was the person nominated) not being stated to have given his vote at all. The Pope considered the question so clear and free from doubt as to express surprise that it should have been referred to him at

¹ See the fourth of the five canons of 1727.

all, and determined that the elector nominated by three other electors, if he assented to his own election (and was not otherwise canonically disqualified), was duly elected; or, in other words, that the accession, by consent, of the person nominated to a moiety of the other electors (the number of the whole body being unequal) constituted a legal and canonical majority. This appears to me to be precisely the same case with Mr. Wordsworth's; if there were any difference, it would be in his favour, the seven electors in the Bayeux case having been 'compromissarii,' *i.e.* persons exercising a deputed authority on behalf of themselves and others originally and by right their colleagues, as to whom it might plausibly have been argued that unless a strictly disinterested majority were to agree in an election, the delegation would cease, and the right would return to the whole Chapter. But in the case of a Diocesan Synod of Clergy, all of whom vote in their own original right, and not by virtue of any delegation, there is no room for such an argument, and I therefore conceive the validity of Mr. Wordsworth's election to be entirely clear, and free from doubt.

ROUNDELL PALMER.

Lincoln's Inn, Dec. 31, 1852.

In sending that paper Roundell Palmer wrote to me as follows :

Lincoln's Inn : December 31, 1852.

My dear Wordsworth,—I send you an opinion, as you wished. It is quite a mistake to think that the principle in any way whatever affects Bishop Eden's election. It is not that an elector is to be preferred to a non-electer if the suffrages are in any way (*e.g.* by the vote of the elector nominated himself) made equal; but merely that the accession *de facto*, and whether with or without the form and ceremony of a vote, of the elector nominated to the moiety of the other electors makes a majority, in the same manner as if that elector and those who support him had concurred in voting for a stranger.

I need not say that I wish you God-speed in your high office. Time was, perhaps, when it might have given me even greater satisfaction than I feel now to see you in it. I confess I have seen, with strong dissent, and even disapprobation, the line you have thought it your duty to take as a political writer, and which

has been (as far as its influence extended) a stumbling-block in the way of those who might have looked for your co-operation. But neither that nor anything else has changed in the least my personal affection for you, or my confidence in you within (what I consider) your legitimate sphere. So, with best prayers and good wishes, I remain,

Ever yours affectionately,

R. PALMER.

It will be observed that in this letter my old friend, whilst he had complied with my request, does not conceal his serious dissatisfaction with the line which I had taken in opposing Mr. Gladstone. I believe it will be no breach of confidence if I say that his own distrust of the policy of Mr. Gladstone became as great as mine has ever been, and that, if he could have foreseen what has happened during these few years, the valuable support which he gave that statesman would have been withheld.

The important opinion of Sir Roundell Palmer was, of course, communicated to the Bishops; and, as was to be expected, it had some effect in their deliverance, which was as follows:

January 6, 1853.

The Bishops, having considered the evidence brought before the Synod by the appellants in support of the charge 'that the Warden had endeavoured to promote his election by canvassing the Presbyters of the diocese in person and by letter,' it was their unanimous judgment that the charge is disproved, inasmuch as it is proved that before the first election the Warden, when dubious of his election, carefully abstained from anything that could have had even the appearance of canvassing, and inasmuch as his explanation of such communications as took place between him and some of the clergy previously to the second election, when he considered his own re-election to be certain, has been satisfactory to the Bishops.

The Bishops, having further heard the argument against the validity of the election of the Rev. Charles Wordsworth grounded

on the fact that the majority whereby he was elected included his own vote, find, unanimously, that the election is valid. As to the grounds of this validity, some of the Bishops rely on the analogy of the case of capitular elections, as laid down in the canon law ('Decret.' Lib. 1, Tit. 6, cap. 33), and others, even independently of that analogy, upon the canons of our own Church.

The Bishops cannot conclude the present finding without declaring it to be their deliberate opinion that the conduct of the appellants in the present proceedings (especially in their quotations from several letters) has been characterised by much unfairness.

The Bishops are willing to accept the apology which has been offered by the appellants from the haste with which, as they represent, they were compelled to draw up their statements; but they cannot but express their deep regret that greater care was not taken when they were preferring charges against a clergyman of so high and important a standing in the Church as the Warden of Trinity College.

The consecration by the (Primus) Bishop of Aberdeen (Skinner), the Bishop of Edinburgh (Jerrold), and the Bishop of Glasgow (Trower), was performed at Aberdeen on January 25, 1852, the anniversary of the Conversion of St. Paul. Bishop Ewing, of Argyll, was in Aberdeen; but illness prevented him from being present. Dean Torry, who had shown himself a kind, zealous, and judicious friend, was selected by me to preach the sermon.

I have entered thus fully into details which many will consider nothing more than *fluctus in simpulo* (waves in a saucer) partly because the circumstances of the election were in several respects very peculiar, and created an interest extending beyond this country; partly because misrepresentations, to my disadvantage, were widely spread by influential Church journals in England, misrepresentations which, it is to be feared, are in some quarters remembered still. Even such a candid and accurate writer as Dr.

Grubb has placed the circumstances as they affect myself in an improper light. He makes no mention of the first and more important of the grounds upon which the Bishops confirmed the election, and represents the election as having rested upon the other ;¹ whereas I myself had proposed to forego the latter if it should be disapproved by the Bishops, and it was the former upon which, entirely sufficient to my own conscience, I was prepared to insist.

Previously to the second election I had received many letters commending the step which I had taken in voting for myself, and urging me to repeat it if necessary for the Church's sake. A few examples may be given.—

From a Bishop, an intimate friend of Bishop Eden :

December 3.

I shall always be ready to defend your act as necessary for the defeat of a most unscrupulous faction, which for eight years has been endeavouring to establish a supremacy in that diocese, and the triumph of which would be the ruin of the Church.

From a Presbyter of St. Andrews Diocese :

December 6.

I had a good opportunity of discovering the general feeling of the laity in our neighbourhood as to the recent election when the subject was broached at General Lindsay's table last Friday. The General expressed himself very warmly, regarding the decision as one of the most important events that have occurred for many years in the Church here. Had the *ultra* party succeeded, he is convinced, it would have been the cause of many defections amongst the half-loyal Episcopalians. This appeared to be the general impression, and it is shared by others of our laity with whom I have had conversation on the subject.

From a Presbyter of the Diocese of Edinburgh, also a friend of Bishop Eden :

¹ On the appearance of his *History*, in 1861, I drew his attention to the passage, which he promised to reconsider in the event of a second edition being called for.

November 21.

This is to entreat you most earnestly to let no consideration induce you to draw back from the contest for the Episcopate. It will be the deepest injury our Scottish Church can sustain if those who oppose you conquer. You will believe that I do not say this without feeling it—when the Bishop is so close a connection.

From a Presbyterian in the Diocese of Aberdeen, Bishop Torry's successor in the charge of Peterhead :

November 20.

The opposition to you has all the marks of faction. Prayer-Book revenge is at the bottom of the business.

The election over, congratulations poured upon me from many persons, known and unknown. One from Bishop Wilberforce showed that he, at least, had not been prejudiced by the misrepresentations so unscrupulously circulated in England :

Cuddesdon Palace, Wheatley, Oxon : April 7, 1853.

My dear Bishop,—I cannot acknowledge the receipt of your letter about Mr. Tayler's ordination without expressing to you my hearty good wishes, and assuring you of my prayers at your addition to our Order. I rejoiced most heartily at the issue which, through God's blessing on your brave superiority to factious opposition and ungrounded reproach, was reached in the election, and I heartily rejoice in your being associated with us in this great trust. May God evermore vouchsafe you His support in bearing its burden and discharging its duties.

I am, ever most sincerely yours,

G. OXON.

Dr. Routh, President of Magdalen College, then in his ninety-eighth year,¹ although I was unknown to him personally, sent me a few lines :

¹ He died on December 22, 1854.

Magdalen College, Oxford : May 8, 1855.

My Lord,—I beg leave to congratulate you on your election to the Bishopric of St. Andrews, which God dispose eventually to your good, and that of His Church.

I am, with great respect,
Your Lordship's dutiful and faithful servant,
M. S. ROUTH.

I had occasion to write to Lord Canning, with whom I had held no communication since Oxford days, more than ten years before ; and I was gratified by receiving from him a token of his kind remembrance. He was then just about to accept office as Postmaster-General in Lord Aberdeen's Ministry, along with the Duke of Newcastle, another of my old Oxford pupils, as Secretary of State for the Colonies.—

Grosvenor Square : December 2, 1852.

My dear Wordsworth,—I trust that there is no great impropriety in addressing you once more as familiarly as I should have done in former days. I do not feel that there need be ; and, therefore, I rely upon your not taking it amiss, although, if report speaks truth, a new dignity is awaiting you, which must forbid my doing so in future.

I suppose your connection with, or, at all events, your residence at, Glenalmond will now be brought to a close ; but, if not, I gladly engage to pay you a visit there the next time I am in the neighbourhood, probably next autumn.

I have already given your message to the Duke of Newcastle, who is very sorry not to have seen you when you were in London.

Neither he nor I was aware that you had been so kind as to call upon us ; which makes me regret that you did not write a line to let me know that you were in town—for a card is often overlooked in the busy time of London. I hope that when you are again within reach I shall be told of it.

Believe me, my dear Wordsworth,
Ever sincerely yours,

CANNING.

What gratified me most, as being by far the most important testimony to approval of my conduct during the election episode, was a congratulatory address bearing the signatures of the great body of the influential lay members—heads of families—of the diocese.—

Diocese of St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane.

Address from the Laity to the Bishop.—On the 7th instant, a deputation of the Laity of the United Diocese of St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane waited upon the new Bishop, at Trinity College, and presented to him the following Congratulatory Address, which had received the signatures of the great body of the influential Lay members (heads of families) of the Diocese, to the number of *two hundred and thirty-seven*. Among the names are—Viscount Strathallan; Lord William Douglas; Lord Charles Kerr; Captain the Hon. William Ogilvy; Sir P. Murray Threipland, Bart.; Sir James Ramsay, Bart.; Sir Thomas Moncreiffe, Bart.; Major-General Lindsay of Balcarres; Sir Coutts Lindsay, Bart.; William Stirling, Esq. of Keir, M.P.; Lieut.-Colonel J. Murray Belshes; Lieut.-Colonel J. Digby Murray; John Stirling, Esq. of Kippendavie; William Smythe, Esq. of Methven; John Guthrie, Esq. of Guthrie; John Grant, Esq. of Kilgraston; Mungo Murray, Esq. of Lintrose; P. Wedderburn Ogilvy, Esq. of Ruthven; William E. Collins Wood, Esq. of Keithick; J. Whyte Melville, Esq. of Mount Melville; W. H. Maitland Dougal, Esq. of Scots-craig; H. Oswald, Esq. of Dunnikeir; Captain B. Popham, R.N.; John M. Drummond, Esq. of Megginch; John M. Nairne, Esq. of Dunsinane; John Stewart Drummond, Esq. of St. Leonards; John Ogilvy, Esq. of Inshewan; John Campbell, Esq. of Glensaddel; Robert Lindsay, Esq. of Straiton; D. W. Balfour Ogilvy, Esq. of Tannadice, &c. :—

To the Rev. Charles Wordsworth, Warden of Trinity College,
and Bishop-Elect of St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and
Dunblane.

Rev. Sir,—We, the undersigned Lay members of the Church within the Diocese of St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane, desire to offer to you our hearty congratulations on your being

elected Bishop of this Diocese. Your distinguished talents, your high reputation as a scholar and a divine, and the unbounded liberality exercised by you in furtherance of the interests of our Church, all combine to designate you as eminently qualified for the Episcopate, and fully justify the selection made by your brother Presbyters.

We congratulate ourselves that your elevation to the Episcopal office does not involve any immediate separation from the Institution over which you so ably and so worthily preside. We feel convinced that your continued connection with Trinity College, in the meantime, is essential to the full development of the benefits which that Institution is destined, we believe, to confer on the Episcopal community in this country.

While we deplore that anyone should have thought opposition to your Election necessary, and regret the painful and trying circumstances which have delayed your appointment, we venture to express a hope that, under your Episcopal rule, all party contentions may cease, and all differences may be merged in the united efforts of both Clergy and Laity to advance the cause of that religion which proclaims 'Peace on earth, and goodwill towards men.'

Perhaps I may add my reply :—

Dear Friends and Brethren in Christ,—In acknowledging the Address with which you have been so kind as to welcome my accession to the Episcopate of this Diocese, I desire to thank you most cordially for the assurance of goodwill and sympathy which it contains; and yet not so (I would hope) as to give expression to one word or thought which might tend to revive the feelings of irritation connected with the late Election—feelings which, I am happy to believe, are now not only rapidly subsiding, but gradually giving place to sentiments of brotherly love, such as ought always to exist (if anywhere in the world) between a Bishop and his Clergy; being indispensable for the performance of the sacred duties which they owe both towards each other and towards the common flock.

At the same time, in reference to the past events, I cannot but admire how the providence of God has brought good out of evil.

It has happened to me to have been placed in circumstances so that I have seemed, perhaps, unduly to covet an office which (it is well known to some) I should rather have desired to decline, could I have done so consistently with what appeared to be my duty to the Diocese, and to the Church at large, and, not least, to this important Institution which has been placed now for upwards of six years under my guardianship.

The same cause which created trouble to me aroused your sympathies, and has excited a degree of concern and interest in the condition and circumstances of the Diocese, which, as I believe, is quite unprecedented since our Communion has ceased to be in connection with the State: so I feel confident it will not be suffered to die away with the occasion that has called it forth.

And hence I shall not cease to rejoice and to thank God that the things which have happened (though grievous for the time) have turned out rather to the furtherance of the cause which we all desire to promote.

Looking, then, onward with hope and gratitude to this happy result, I may venture to observe to you that the success of every administration must depend upon the goodwill and support of those who are subject to it, and for whose benefit it exists.

This is especially the case with the Bishop's office in a Communion like ours, which is divested of all civil sanctions.

On the other hand, one who appeals to spiritual sanctions alone for the warrant of his administration must be prepared to show that he is influenced purely by spiritual motives. It will be my constant and earnest endeavour, in dependence upon the Divine blessing, so to act; and you, on your part, will not deny to me, I trust, the benefit both of your assistance and of your prayers, that I may have strength and power faithfully to fulfil the resolution I have formed.

May our heavenly Father graciously accept the devout petition which I offer for you all, and for all the members of my flock, that He may guide you in all your ways, and bless and prosper you in all your works, for His dear Son's sake!

I am, your faithful Pastor,
and humble servant in Christ Jesus,

CHARLES WORDSWORTH,

Bishop of St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane.

Trinity College: March 7, 1853.

CHAPTER VIII

EARLY EPISCOPATE

Synod on Cathedral Question—Honorary Degree from Oxford University—
New Constitution for St. Ninian's—Enthronement—Dean Ramsay—First
Steps towards Reunion—Letter to Presbyterian Ministers—Financial
Difficulties of the College—Resignation of Wardenship—W. K. Hamilton,
Bishop of Salisbury—Removal from Glenalmond.

1. *The Cathedral Question*

THE first matter of importance that called for my attention after I became Bishop was the case of St. Ninian's. St. Ninian's had been established for two years, and claimed to be the cathedral of the diocese. I had no doubt that, in the absence of anything to the contrary in the canons, a bishop had a right to do as Bishop Torry had done, to institute a cathedral for his diocese. It was clear to me, also, that to begin the exercise of my Episcopal authority by contravening the authority of my predecessor would have been worse than injudicious. On the other hand, I was aware that what had been done had been done in a manner informal and inexpedient. It was at variance with the spirit, if not with the letter, of the canon that an undertaking of such importance should be set on foot by the mere fiat of the bishop, without consultation with the clergy in their diocesan Synod. Not even any communication had been made to them. It was only natural that they should regard the scheme with suspicion, if not with aversion. My first step, therefore, was in relation to the defect. I summoned a special Synod to meet at Glen-

almond in the spring. Feeling the importance of enlisting the interest of the laity in the scheme, from which, with the exception of two or three, they had thitherto stood aloof, I desired each of the clergy to send me the names of 'one or more, not exceeding three,' of the leading laymen in his congregation, 'in full communion with the Church and known to take a religious and intelligent interest in its welfare and advancement'; to each of whom I wrote a letter requesting him to favour us with his presence at the Synod. There was nothing in the canons to forbid this. At that time it was customary that clergymen only were present at our Synods, and, of course, none but clergy, being members of Synod, had power to vote; but I felt myself at liberty, amid the special circumstances of the case, to invite any laymen who might attend to give us the benefit of their opinions. Also, although I had little doubt that at that time all the Bishops, with the exceptions of Bishop Forbes and Bishop Eden, would be indifferent, or hostile, to the course which I proposed to take, I paid each of them the civility of asking for his advice. The Primus, writing on February 4, had already exhorted me to be 'very guarded in all my intercourse—the less the better—with the St. Ninian's people; for *Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes* ought to be the motto of us all concerning them.' The Synod was held on April 6. All the clergy were present, and about a dozen of the laity. I preached from 2 Corinthians vi. 3: 'Giving no offence in anything, that the ministry be not blamed'; and in the course of what I said I took occasion to announce the principle on which I desired to act in the administration of the diocese, the principle of 'having regard not to this or that part only, but to the whole ecclesiastical body.' Whether the sermon deserved the commendation which was pronounced upon it by the 'Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal'—that 'it was one

which those who had heard it can never forget, and for which few (if any) will ever cease to be thankful'—it is not for me to say. After the service, which included the Litany and Holy Communion (by the Scottish Office), the Synod was constituted in the ante-chapel. In opening the proceedings I stated the circumstances amid which I had invited some of our faithful laymen to favour us with their presence, and I explained the case upon which I desired the assistance of their deliberations. I had been asked to allow myself to be enthroned (as my predecessor had been by proxy) at St. Ninian's, as the cathedral of the diocese; but to this I could not consent until St. Ninian's was recognised as the cathedral by the clergy in Synod. I was aware that there were difficulties in the way of that recognition; but, judging from the communications I had held with the representatives of St. Ninian's, I was not without hope that the difficulties might be overcome to the satisfaction of all concerned. With this view, I should require as a basis for the removal of suspicion¹ and the settlement of disputes:

1.—That the constitution which had been sanctioned by the late Bishop, and had been seen and condemned by the Episcopal Synod, should be submitted to my revision.

2.—That there should be a certain endowment—at least, for the Head of the Chapter and one Canon.²

3.—That there should be not less than three Canons residentiary, one of whom should have the direction of a School for the Poor, and another that of a Middle School.

4.—That the Dean of the Diocese should be *ex officio* a member of the Chapter as a Prebendary non-resident.

¹ Two of the original promoters of the scheme had already joined the Church of Rome.

² Mr. Boyle made himself responsible for the endowment (200*l.* a year) of the Provost, and Lord Forbes for the endowment (100*l.* a year) of the Precentor.

5.—That those proposals should be received *ad interim*, subject to the approval of the subsequent General Synod.

6.—That a copy of them, if accepted by the present Synod, should be sent, by the clerk, to each of our provincial Bishops, with a request that they would severally favour us with their opinions; ‘and that no formal step be taken, in consequence of what may be now resolved, until their answer be laid before the Diocese at our coming Ordinary Synod for the present year.’

Then, I desired each of the clergy, in the order of seniority, to deliver his opinion on the matter thus submitted; and that the clergy should be followed by any of the laymen who might wish to speak. I had first explained that I must reserve to myself the right of acting upon my own responsibility after deliberating on the advice offered.

The result was curious. Perhaps the reader will think that, in order to secure a favourable verdict, I had gone almost too far in the way of caution; but it did not prove so. All the clergy who had supported me in my election were opposed to the acceptance of the cathedral upon any terms, at least until the scheme had been sanctioned by a General Synod; and all who had been opposed to me supported my proposal. Of the laity who spoke, only one was decidedly favourable. The three others were for ‘caution and delay.’

I thanked them all for the advice they had severally given, and promised to weigh it as impartially as I could, in the hope that when the time came for our ordinary autumn Synod I should be able to let them know the decision at which I had arrived. The reader who may desire to know more of what passed, and of the arguments on both sides, may find the proceedings reported in the ‘Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal,’ April 1853, p. 92, *et seq.*

On the whole, I was not disappointed with the result. The opposition to my proposals strengthened my hands. It showed that unless the cathedral authorities could be induced to make the concessions which, especially in regard to the revision of the constitution, I thought desirable, nothing could be done.

2. *Oxford Honorary Degree*

It was an agreeable variation to the business in which I had been engaged in regard to St. Ninian's to receive the announcement that I was one of those upon whom the University of Oxford proposed to bestow an honorary degree at the Grand Commemoration, when the Earl of Derby was to be installed as Chancellor in succession to the Duke of Wellington. I had supposed that the compliment, quite unsolicited and unexpected on my part, was mainly due to the kind interposition of Dr. Williams, Warden of the New College; but, from a letter which I find among my papers, it appears that my old friend Claughton, who subsequently became vicar of Kidderminster, and married a sister of Lord Ward (late Earl of Dudley), had a principal hand in the matter.

Kidderminster: May 17, 1853.

My dear Friend,—On the other side is the Vice-Chancellor's letter, which I have just received. This will now secure our meeting at Oxford at that time, and your preaching for my schools, June 12 or 19 (?).

Ever your affectionate,

J. L. C.

Worcester College: May 16, 1853.

My dear Claughton,—I have laid your request that Bishop Wordsworth should be proposed for honorary D.C.L. Degree at the ensuing Installation. This request was unanimously acceded to, and his name was placed upon the list of those to be proposed accordingly.

I am, yours very sincerely,

R. L. COTTON.

The occasion was indeed memorable. All Lord Derby's chief political colleagues—Disraeli, Spencer Walpole, the present Lord Derby (whom the Chancellor, amid great applause, addressed as '*Filii mi dilectissime*'),—and many others, received honorary degrees. The ceremony was extended (a most unusual occurrence) over two days. That, with the fact that my name came on the second day, was singularly fortunate for me. On the first day I was so unwell, with one of my violent sick-headaches, brought on by the long journey from Perth, that I was obliged to remain in bed and to send for Dr. Acland. Consequently, I lost the dinner in Christ Church Hall. Next day I was sufficiently recovered to take my place in the procession to the Theatre and receive the honour, which consisted in my being presented by Dr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Phillimore, as Professor of Civil Law, in a few eulogistic sentences, at the close of which the Chancellor, having proposed my name to the Convocation in the usual formula, and the 'placet' having been given with much applause (owing, perhaps, more to the tradition of my athletic achievements than to the fact of my election to a Scotch Bishopric), I stepped forward and had the honour of shaking hands with the Chancellor in his official chair, and so passed on to my allotted place among the doctors. Lord Derby, unlike the Duke, his predecessor, made no false quantities; but he created some amusement by the difficulty which he seemed to experience in articulating my long Latin designation, '*Episcopus Sanct-Andreensis, Dunkeldensis, et Dunblanensis.*'

In the evening I was present at the public dinner given by the Vice-Chancellor in the Hall of Worcester College. Lord Derby made an excellent speech, mainly in commendation of the study of the ancient classics, a subject in which he was quite at home. The speech of the Vice-Chancellor was no less notable; but it was so for quite

other reasons. One is loth to say a word in disparagement of so estimable a man as Dr. Cotton, one of Dean Burgon's 'twelve good men,' and deservedly placed in that remarkable catalogue; but it is curious how often the mistake which he made is committed on similar occasions by amiable and even sensible men, and it may be of use as a warning to mention it. He spoke too long. I have been present more than once when even Mr. Gladstone himself, erring in this respect, has tired his audience. The following extract from James Mozley's 'Letters' (p. 221) scarcely exaggerates what actually occurred at the College banquet :

D'Israeli was the great lion ; but that worthy Vice-Chancellor considered that the whole assembly, Nobles and Commons, had come there for the express purpose of hearing him talk on religion and morals ; which he did, on the most lenient computation, for *two hours*. So D'Israeli left without saying a word.

To me the infliction was the more serious in respect that I was still suffering from indisposition. It provoked the following splenetic epigram :

Quod heri vocatus ad dapes Vigornias
 Cœnaret omnis venter optime, coquo,
 Cottone, laus non parva debetur tuo.
 Ibidem quod omnis, Tantalo infelicius,
 Mens esuriret, te loquente ad nauseam,
 Hoc qualecunque laudis est totum tui.

Many years afterwards I was told by Bishop Forbes, at an Episcopal Synod in Edinburgh, that when I had shaken hands with Lord Derby in the Theatre, and was moving into my place, Lord Malmesbury, who was sitting close behind him, whispered into his ear, 'That man might have been anything he pleased.' I had a slight acquaintance with Lord Fitzharris (as Lord Malmesbury then was) when we were contemporaries at Oxford ;—he a fellow-

commoner at Oriel, and I at Christ Church ;—and the reputation which I then enjoyed in the matter of combining study with athletics may have led him to entertain much too high an opinion of my capacities.

At Oxford I had been most kindly welcomed in New College by the Warden and Mrs. Williams ; and, in the train, on my return journey to the North, gratitude prompted the following effusion :

All that a grateful tongue can say,
 All that a grateful heart repay,
 By me to thee and thine be said,
 By me to thee and thine repaid,
 Lady ! whose hospitable care
 And courteous grace 'twas mine to share
 When antient Oxford swarmed to greet
 Her Chancellor to his honoured seat—
 Oxford, which well I knew before
 Renowned for philosophic lore,
 For learning, science, wit, and song—
 That best become the *manly* throng ;
 But now I know to flourish fair
 In graces little recked of there,
 When softer charms were deemed unmeet
 To share the throne in learning's seat.
 Days happily gone by ; for *now*
 A twofold garland decks the brow
 Of Academe, with wreaths combined,
 Oakleaf and rosebud intertwined ;
 While male and female arts conspire
 To tend a purer, holier fire
 Than e'er, in th' olden time, was known,
 When *mateless* man kept *ward* alone.
 Now Wykeham's youth all worth may see
 Shine forth in thy good lord and thee
 (Reaching, by bright example taught,
 A height beyond e'en Wykeham's thought).
 In him—what all men's praise has won—
Self revered in duty done ;

In thee—what men despair to find
 On earth, if not in womankind—
 All that can bless another's lot
 Remembered—*self* alone forgot.

I had not preserved the manuscript ; but Mrs. Hobhouse (wife of the Bishop, and daughter of Mrs. Williams) kindly sent me the original, and allowed me to take a copy of it, when I applied to her, many years afterwards (in December, 1879), having then begun to think that a day might come when I should take in hand the compilation of my 'Annals.' She gave me the gratifying assurance that her brother (who was then dead) had valued the verses highly.

3. *New Constitution for St. Ninian's Accepted*

To revert to St. Ninian's. When our ordinary annual Synod met on July 6, at Glenalmond, I was in a position to announce that the authorities of St. Ninian's were prepared to accept my revision of its Constitution, and that, besides approving the proposals submitted at our special Synod in April, they consented to the following :

1. That the title of *Dean* should be changed to that of *Provost*, to prevent its clashing with that of *Canonical Dean*.

2. That not only the Dean of the diocese, as before proposed, but the five senior Presbyters, should be appointed Members of Chapter *ex officio*, as Prebendaries non-resident. This, I hoped, would tend to strengthen the institution throughout the diocese, and at the same time to allay the suspicion of extreme practices.

I had previously sent to each of the clergy a copy of my new draft Constitution, embodying the proposals now and before specified. I had done the same to each of the Bishops ; and I was able to state that they had all received

my communication kindly, and that the general tenor of their replies was decidedly such as to show that they approved the course which I had endeavoured to take. The Primus, speaking of the 'Draft of Statutes,' wrote (June 27): 'I give you very great credit, on account of its admirable tact.'

I did not omit to mention that I had refused to assent to the clause in the original Constitution which provided for the perpetual and exclusive use of the Scotch Communion Office (as I afterwards refused to assent to a similar clause in the new Constitution of St. John's [Perth] which provided for the exclusive and perpetual use of the English Communion Office), and insisted that the matter should be left to the discretion of the governing body and Ordinary of the church for the time being, according as they should determine to be most conducive to the edification of the people committed to their care and most expedient for the interests of the Church at large.

Lastly, in reference to the charges brought against St. Ninian's of *ultra*-ritualism and Romanising tendencies, I assured the Synod that I should watch over the progress of the Cathedral with the utmost care, as feeling how important it was, for the success of the scheme itself, to remove every unnecessary occasion of offence, and that nothing should be seen or done there which a faithful and well-informed member of the Church would be displeased to see, or a faithful and true-hearted minister of the Church would be disinclined to do.

It will be seen in the sequel how much trouble and difficulty I had to encounter during a long series of years in my endeavours to perform that promise. I have only to add that the Constitution as remodelled by me was designed to place the Cathedral upon its proper footing as the *Bishop's church*. It was to be, to all intents and

purposes, 'under the Bishop,' thus avoiding the anomalies introduced into the English system through the usurpations of Popery, whereby the influence of the Dean and Chapter has been too often used to counteract rather than to strengthen the Bishop's authority. In this respect also my precautions, unhappily, proved quite ineffectual for many years.

For the present, the result of the course which I had taken was all I could have wished. When my address was ended, Dean Torry moved, and Mr. Milne, the Synod Clerk, who had led the opposition to my election, seconded, 'That the Draft of Statutes for St. Ninian's, Perth, which the Bishop has submitted to our deliberate counsel, be unanimously approved and accepted by this Synod'; also, 'That the foregoing resolution be passed, subject to the approval of next General Synod of the Church.'¹

Both sections of the clergy not only concurred in the resolution, but congratulated me on the success of my endeavours in bringing a question of so much difficulty to a solution so satisfactory.

Out of the many gratifying communications which I received upon the occasion, I venture to cite a letter from a venerable and much-esteemed clergyman, Mr. Fortescue Knottesford, the father of Provost Fortescue:

Manor House, Alveston: October 24, 1853.

Right Reverend and dear Sir,— . . . I can no longer refrain from congratulating you on the successful determination of the long-agitated question respecting the position of the Cathedral founded at Perth. This, under God, is owing to your dispassionate consideration of the subject, and judicious management of the intricate matters properly submitted to your cognisance and decision. That everything should be adjusted to the entire

¹ When the next General Synod arrived (in 1862) no notice was taken of the matter in any quarter. It was not until the Synod of 1890 that cathedrals were first canonically recognised.

satisfaction of all parties concerned could hardly be expected; but that so much should be effected, wherein almost all were willing to agree, was more than could be looked for. . . . To you is the diocese indebted, and therein the whole Church in Scotland, . . . for healing the divisions which have distracted it, and restoring that peace and unanimity which you so forcibly and eloquently describe as the peculiar characteristic of disciples of the Prince of Peace. The establishment of the Cathedral on a firmer foundation is a most satisfactory result, and I trust that under your episcopal superintendence and through the zealous labours of its members it may, by the grace of the great Head of the Church, be rendered a permanent blessing in the land. I have to thank you, my Lord, for your uniform and continued kindness to my dear son. . . .

Your much obliged and very humble servant,

F. FORTESCUE KNOTTESFORD.

I am tempted to add the congratulations received from the Bishop of Moray, from my brother, and from Dr. Moberly.—

From the Bishop of Moray, July 11 :

Hedgefield, Inverness : July 11, 1853.

My dear Bishop,—I cannot refrain from congratulating you most heartily on the unanimity exhibited by your Presbyters in the matter of the amended statutes of your Cathedral. It was of great importance that this question should have been thus peacefully met and solved, and that you should have been thus enabled, with the full concurrence of your clergy, to establish a central machinery by which you may carry on with increased vigour your objects for the general good of the diocese. . . .

Believe me, my dear Bishop,

Your very faithful Brother,

R. MOR. AND ROSS.

From my Brother, July 14 :

Cloisters, Westmr. : July 14, 1853.

Thank you, my dearest brother, for the copy of your Capitular Code. We rejoice with you that it is what it is, and it was

accepted as it was. May everything else in its history proceed according to this beginning!

I ought not to omit to express the great pleasure I derived from 'the Bishop's address' on the occasion.

With best love,

Yours most affectionately,

CHR. W.

From Dr. Moberly, December 29 :

Winchester : December 29, 1853.

My dear Bishop of St. Andrews,— . . . Let me take this opportunity of expressing to you my very warm and earnest sympathy in all the excellent and lofty things which have marked your hitherto short Episcopate. I read with great delight and admiration the proceedings of the Synods held respecting your Cathedral at Perth, and the successful and excellent way in which they were guided and won to unanimity on so important a subject. And most sincerely do I hope and pray that you, too, may be guided, in all future undertakings, with like Christian wisdom and skill. . . .

Ever yours very faithfully and affectionately,

GEORGE MOBERLY.

I must not omit to mention that my proposed new Constitution had been submitted to Canon Jebb, who was, perhaps, then the best living authority on the subject of cathedrals, before the Synod. His approval of it had been expressed (June 4) in these terms : 'The general scheme appears to be admirable, and altogether in accordance with the true spirit of cathedral foundations.'

All this time Lord Forbes himself did not once appear upon the scene ; nor had I ever the honour of making his acquaintance, or of receiving any direct communication from him, except on one occasion, in answer to a letter I had addressed to him. After ceasing to reside in Oxford he continued an absentee, taking up his abode generally in some cathedral town, for the benefit of the frequent services. Being, I believe, of a weakly constitution, he

shrank from the fatigue of the long journey into Scotland ; and so the whole management of the Cathedral scheme devolved upon young Mr. G. F. Boyle, also non-resident in the diocese, and understood to be in Church matters under the direction and guidance of Dr. Pusey. A more unfortunate condition of things for such an undertaking, and one less likely to incline our lairds and other chief laymen of the diocese to come forward in support of the new institution, it is scarcely possible to conceive ; while at the same time it could not fail to increase the burden of those who, living on the spot, were responsible to the Church and to the diocese for the preservation of peace and good order, and for the exclusion of elements calculated to create confusion and distrust.

It seems never to have occurred to Bishop Torry that a cathedral, above all things, must be diocesan : that as an exotic it could never flourish, and would tend to produce confusion, rather than concord and harmony, in a diocese.

My enthroning at St. Ninian's was on St. Matthew's Day (September 21). The sermon which I preached, from the words, 'He arose and followed Him' (Matt. ix. 9), and in which I took occasion to urge the importance of sons of our upper classes coming forward as candidates for the sacred ministry, was published by request, and dedicated to Dean Torry, and to Provost Fortescue, and the other members of the Chapter of the Cathedral Church in Perth ; and my brother's estimate of it (who was not a man to bestow praise at random) afforded me, as may be supposed, no little gratification and encouragement. It was as follows :

Stanford, Faringdon : October 17, 1853.

My dear Brother,—I have just read your sermon (preached on St. Matthew's Day at Perth Cathedral), which reached me yesterday ; and I can only say that I wish that all the dukes, marquesses, earls, viscounts, barons, baronets, and esquires

of Scotland had been present to hear it, and (failing that) that they may have a copy of it, and be induced to read it, and profit by it, as assuredly they will do if they read it. *It is indeed an admirable discourse, well suited to the time and place, preacher and congregation*, and I hope that they who *did* hear it proved themselves duly sensible of its value. . . .

We are proposing to return to Westminster for six weeks. All send their love, with that of

Your affectionate Brother,

CHR. WORDSWORTH.

We were much interested by our visit to Paris, which has produced a journal, which Susan is now transcribing, and you may one day see, if you wish it. Susan sends you the 'Catholic Layman.' I know nothing of its staff; but the Editor kindly sends me some copies gratis. If you think the Editor 'S. E. J.' would like to have one, I can send it.

Dean Torry, at least, for one—although he also was not given to being unduly complimentary—so far showed himself 'sensible of its value' that he ordered a large number of copies for distribution.

On the other hand, there were passages in the sermon which, as being of too stern a character in reference to our intercourse with members of other religious bodies, men like Dean Ramsay did not approve, and which, if the sermon were to be republished, I should now alter, or expunge. The following passages in a letter from the Dean place that good and kind man in such an amiable light that I have pleasure in publishing them, and all the more because I fear that the memory of his truly Christian disposition, of his wide influence, and of the great debt which the Church owes to him, is fast fading away :

Edinburgh: May 11, 1854.

My dear Right Reverend Warden,— . . . My opinions on your sermon are of little moment to you or to the Church. I am not learned; I have no powers of argument. If I have done anything for the Church at all, it has been from my knowledge

of the Scottish mind, and from some little tact and knowledge in keeping clear of men's prejudices and fancies, without at the same time conceding to them any *essential* parts of our system. As a Scotchman, and as bound up with Presbyterians, and as full of ancestral associations (for both the Ramsays and Bennetts were always desperate Covenanters), you cannot expect that I should look upon Presbyterians *quite* as you do. Perhaps I have some of my great-uncle's (Bishop Bennett, of Sarum) liberality. . . . There are few men I would more readily learn from than from yourself; but don't think me obstinate when I say my opinion of the sermon¹ is unchanged.

Pray believe that I am,

With much respect and regard,

Yours,

E. B. RAMSAY.

On October 28 a public dinner was given in Edinburgh, by the lay members of the General Committee of the Church Society, to the Bishops and clergy. All our seven Bishops were present. General Lindsay, of Balcarres, was in the chair. It was on that occasion that Sir A. Edmonstone, in proposing the toast of Trinity College, coupled with my name, informed the company how Mr. Gladstone had once remarked to him that 'the best day's work he had ever done was when he went down to Winchester, and persuaded Wordsworth to come into Scotland' (see Vol. i. p. 313).

At Mr. Lendrum's request, I preached in the chapel of his Young Ladies' College, at Crieff, on the anniversary, St. Margaret's Day (November 17).

4. *First Steps to recover Church Unity*

It was a frequent and sorrowful complaint of Principal Tulloch that the notion of discussion among fellow-

¹ On St. Matthew's Day. There were some sentences in it which he thought too strong.

Christians as something sinful had died out in Scotland, more especially since the *great*—many would add ‘the *glorious*’—Disruption of 1843. Consequently, I had not been long in this country before it struck me how urgent a call there was for some attempt to be made to correct this evil; and I could not but ask myself whether I might not be able, in dependence upon the Divine help, to contribute something towards its correction. More especially after I became Bishop, I felt that, next to the discharge of my ordinary ministerial functions, it was a primary and most important part of my sacred office to undertake the duty. I did not underrate the difficulties in the way. I did not expect that much progress could be made speedily, or even, perhaps, during a lifetime; but, nevertheless, I was convinced that a beginning ought to be made by endeavouring, through public lectures and frequent letters in the newspapers, to leaven the minds of the more intelligent portion of our population, and especially of ministers themselves, with sounder principles. Accordingly, I proposed first to show that the condition of separation in which we were living was a great and fatal mistake, and then to point out the only way by which the restoration of unity could be reasonably expected.

My first step towards the promotion of this twofold object was the following letter, which I wrote February 25, 1854, ‘To the Secretaries of the Protestant Conference’:

Trinity College, Glenalmond: February 25, 1854.

Gentlemen,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of a printed circular to which your names are attached, and which invites me to take part in a general conference of the ‘Protestants of Scotland,’ to be held in Edinburgh on Tuesday next.

I had occasion not long since to make known my conviction that if we who call ourselves ‘Protestants’ are to come together at all for a religious purpose, and especially with any reasonable hope of withstanding the aggressions of the Church of Rome,

we must come together first to bewail our mutual differences (so contrary to the command and will of God), and to endeavour, through His grace, to be at one among ourselves.

Nothing would give me more satisfaction than to take part in any conference which should have this object in view; and I cannot but think that the present most critical state of religion in this country, which your Circular partially points out, but which it concerns us also to consider in relation to the amount of practical ungodliness which prevails amongst us, and to the absence of agreement upon the great question of Education, by which alone that ungodliness can be met, calls loudly for some attempt in that direction. It may be that our Heavenly Father would look mercifully upon us, and open up some way by which we might escape from the sea of evils upon which we are cast without chart or compass, if He saw that we were anxious, in the first place, to respect those frequent, most emphatic, and most affecting passages of His holy Word which require that we 'all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions amongst us.'

I cannot doubt that there are many members of your Committee who feel the truth of what I have ventured to say no less than I do. I see, for example, upon your list the name of Dr. Buchanan, whose lecture, delivered in London before the Evangelical Alliance, upon 'The Causes of Schism,' I have lately read with much interest. For my own part, I am inclined to go further than he has done in that argument, because I think it may be proved from Holy Scripture that formal permanent separation among Christians, especially among those of the same nation and language, is not justifiable upon *any plea*. But, however this may be, I could not but admire the ability, and still more the truly Christian spirit, with which the essay is composed; and I should expect to derive no little pleasure and benefit if an opportunity were afforded of our communicating together upon the points on which I at present differ from him.

I am fully prepared to adopt the language which I find used in the 'Requisition' you have sent me, with respect to the system of the Papacy—viz., 'that it is fatal to the peace and prosperity of nations, and is doomed to destruction in the Word of God.' But—not to mention that we have amongst us other and more common evils, which are also fatal to our peace and

welfare as a nation, and which are most offensive (we must believe) in the sight of God—I cannot concur with your Committee in casting upon our governors in the State the sole blame for the encouragement which has latterly been given to that system. In my opinion, *we*—especially such of us as are preachers of the Gospel—must take the larger share of that blame upon ourselves. The main cause of the measures we condemn is not that our rulers are so ill-disposed, or so ‘infatuated,’ as you complain; but that *we*, ‘Protestant ministers’ and ‘Protestant congregations,’ have disabled them by our divisions from following up the only safe and only Christian policy, which the wisdom of our forefathers had bequeathed to us. I do not mean a policy of persecution or of intolerance—God forbid!—but the policy which aimed to give effect to the revelation of Christianity as an undoubted fact, and to exhibit the necessary consequences of that fact in their true and most perfect form. With regard to one, at least, of the most distinguished members of the present Government, we know that dissensions among ‘Protestants’ left him, as he thought, no alternative but to reconsider and to change the whole course of his principles and conduct as a public man, in respect both to *the Jew*, on the one hand, and to *the Romanist* on the other; and the eloquence of that eminent statesman, who formerly withstood the grant to the College of Maynooth, may now be expected to support this new measure for the endowment of ‘Popish Chaplains’—not, however, from ‘obstinacy’ or infatuation on *his part*, but, I fear it must be said, on *our own*.

My conviction, therefore, is that, if we desire our rulers to do what is right as regards the Gospel of Christ, we must first set them the example, by doing so ourselves. If we require them to take cognisance of Religious Truth, we must ourselves accept that Truth as ONE, even as the Scripture teaches ‘there is one Body and one Spirit,’ &c.; otherwise we afford them only too plausible a pretext for declining to take notice of religious error, however mischievous or however anti-Christian. Acting upon this principle, we cannot fail to succeed; but in no other way can we hope to meet the exigencies of the present crisis, or to take up a position against the adherents of Rome which will not expose our own weakness rather than reduce their strength. Looking, as we must, for help from above, how can we expect

to go forth and prosper, as in a *common cause*, when we cannot *communicate* together as Christ's disciples in the only true badge and bond of Christian fellowship? 'Schisma est unitas vobis' will be their taunt against us; and, though we may reply, and reply most truly, that their pretended and unscriptural unity is the prime cause of the rents that have been made in all the Churches of Christendom, what will this avail us if *that taunt be true?*

I have been encouraged to trouble you with this letter, and am intending also to make it public, in consequence of the invitation, which your Circular contains, that 'the friends of the cause should express their opinions through the press, as well as by letter to your society.'

I am, Gentlemen,

Your faithful Servant and Brother in Christ,

CHARLES WORDSWORTH,

Bishop of St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane.

To the Secretaries of the 'Protestant Conference,' &c.

Shortly after that letter was written I undertook to issue a series of pamphlets, which I intended to be partly original and partly selected, to be called 'St. Andrews Tracts,' and further headed 'Ad Ministros'; my purpose being to send a copy, through each of my clergy, to every Presbyterian minister within his district. And this was done with regard to the first of the series, which consisted of a reprint (in fifty-three closely-printed pages, 8vo.) of Bingham's 'Antiquities of the Christian Church,' book xvi. chap. i., 'Of the Union and Communion observed in the Ancient Church.'¹

It may be thought that such a project was too ambitious at the beginning of my enterprise. Be this as it may, it went no further, simply because when, a few months later, I had ceased to be Warden, my means became too much crippled to enable me to incur the necessary expense. I was loth to abandon it, for the letters I

¹ See 'Public Appeals in Behalf of Christian Unity,' Vol. i. p. 99 *note*.

received from many of those to whom the pamphlet was sent were kind and encouraging. It was accompanied by the following letter, April 1854 :

Letter to the Ministers of all Presbyterian Denominations within the Diocese of St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane

Trinity College, Glenalmond : April, 1854.

Rev. Sir,—Although a stranger to you personally, I hope you will not think that I am taking an undue liberty in requesting your kind acceptance of the Tract sent herewith, and of others of a similar character and tendency which, by God's help, and with your permission, will follow it from time to time.

I trust, also, you will believe that I have no other object in the undertaking which is now commenced than to assist in performing the work, and to obtain, if it may be, in common with all who shall join us in it, the blessing, of the peacemakers. Further, I beg you to be assured that the tracts (whether original or selected) will advocate no other principles than those which have been held from the beginning throughout the body of believers in Christ, and will appeal to no other testimonies than those to which, at the commencement of the Reformation, Knox himself appealed as affording the most unexceptionable ground for the decision of religious controversy, and the surest preservative against the errors and encroachments of the Church of Rome.

'We are content,' he says in the first petition and oration of the Protestants of Scotland to the Queen Regent, A.D. 1558, 'that *not only the Rules and Precepts of the New Testament, but also the writings of the ancient Fathers, and the godly and approved Laws of Justinian the Emperor, decide the controversy betwixt us and them.* And if it shall be found that either malevolently or ignorantly we ask more than these three forenamed have required, and continually do require, of able and true ministers in Christ's Church, we refuse not correction, as your Majesty with right judgment shall think meet. But if *all the forenamed shall condemn that which we condemn, and approve that which we require,* then we most earnestly beseech your Majesty, that notwithstanding the long custom which they have had to live at their lust, that they be compelled either to

desist from Ecclesiastical administration, or to discharge their duties as becometh true Ministers; so that *the grave and godly face of the primitive Church may be reduced; ignorance may be expelled; true doctrine and good manners may once again appear in the Church in this realm.*'

And again, in his Appellation addressed to the Nobility and States of Scotland in the same year: 'Let God, I say, speak by His Law, by His Prophets, by Christ Jesus, or by His Apostles, and so let Him pronounce what religion He approveth; and then, be my enemies never so many, and appear they never so strong and so learned, no more do I fear victory than did Elijah, being but one man, against the multitude of Baal's Priests. And if they think to have advantage by their Councils and Doctors, this I further offer, *To admit the one and the other as witnesses in all matters debateable*, three things (which justly cannot be denied) being granted unto me: First, *That the most ancient Councils nighest to the primitive Church in which the learned and godly Fathers did examine all matters by God's Word may be holden of most authority*; Secondly, *That no determination of Councils nor man be admitted against the plain verity of God's Word, nor against the determination of those four chief Councils*, whose authority has been, and is, holden by them equal with the authority of the four Evangelists; And last, *That to no Doctor be given greater authority than Augustine requireth to be given to his writings; to wit, "If he plainly prove not his affirmation by God's infallible Word, that then his sentence be rejected, and imputed to the error of man."*'

And as the principles which these tracts are designed to recommend will be found, I trust, unexceptionable, so (by God's help) they shall contain nothing which can reasonably give offence, as being merely of a polemical and disputatious character; and, if they do not bear this evidence of the peacemaking spirit from which they come, that 'all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil-speaking, has been put away from them, with all malice,' then let them not be received into your house, or received only to be cast into the fire, which is the fittest welcome for the instruments of strife and uncharitableness.

I would fain hope that the issue of these tracts may be so far blessed as to give occasion for more frequent conference among preachers of the Word, who desire to speak the Truth in

love, but who, as being at present separated into different Communion, bear towards each other a less loving aspect than becomes the teachers of the same Gospel and the followers of the same Lord. For my own part, I have little doubt that those of us who hold nearest to the true doctrine and discipline of the Church have something which they might learn from those even who are most in error; and that while we are severally contending for some principle which is valuable in itself, we are all apt to be carried away into extremes, by which the balance of our knowledge of Divine things is disordered, if not destroyed, and we no longer prophesy, as the Scripture bids us, 'according to the proportion of faith.'

The title of the series is derived from the Apostle whose name has been so long connected with the history of the Church in Scotland; and I confess I was further led to select it because the conduct of St. Andrew in 'first finding his Brother Simon' would seem to suggest the course which, I cannot but think, it is most proper that we ourselves should pursue under present circumstances, viz. that we should first 'find,' that is, endeavour to understand, to appreciate, to inform, to correct each other, before we attempt to agitate or unsettle the minds of those for the cure of whose souls we have severally undertaken to watch, and of whom, therefore, we must each expect to give account at the great day.

Lastly, the undertaking itself will be felt, I believe, by many to be not unseasonable at the present time. The abandonment of fixed religious principles in the government of our country, which is now openly adopted as the only practical basis for the administration of its affairs, and which, being contrary to the Word of God, cannot be otherwise than grievously offensive to His Divine Majesty, is plainly the consequence, not of the ascendancy of this or that political party in the State, but of *the separations which we have multiplied amongst ourselves*; and the only remedy, therefore, *is to set ourselves, as speedily as we can, to heal our divisions*. Otherwise it will be in vain to pretend to humble ourselves under the scourge, whether of war, or famine, or pestilence—or, it may be, of all these combined—which now, when we least expected it, is raised so mysteriously over our heads; for by so doing we shall only add the guilt of formalism and hypocrisy to the sin and disobedience we had

before committed ; whereby we have practically renounced the peace and unity which Christ commands, and—unless the Divine judgments shall mercifully arrest us—are prepared to apostatise, as a nation, from the profession of the Christian faith.

I am, Rev. Sir,

Your faithful Servant and Brother in Christ,

CHARLES WORDSWORTH,

Bishop of St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane.

A third step which I took, while still at Glenalmond, in the same direction was the lecture which I delivered in the Perth City Hall, May 4, 1854, 'On the Appointment of a Day for National Humiliation, and on the Difficulties of the Education Question.'

The Day of Humiliation (April 26) had been appointed on account of the outbreak of the Crimean War ; and the difficulties of the education question had reference to a Bill for Scotland, then before Parliament, which not only ignored Christianity, but expressly excluded religion altogether. It was thrown out on the motion for the Second Reading (May 14, ten days after the delivery of my lecture) by a majority of 9 : 193 to 184. The lecture was reprinted¹ in the following year, under the title, 'What is National Humiliation without National Repentance ?' when another Day of Humiliation (March 21) had been appointed on account of the fearful visitation from cholera.

A main note of the lecture was that it laid the foundation for future discussion of the ministry, by pointing out the essential distinction between Popery and Prelacy—a distinction which Scotchmen have been, and still are, too apt to ignore. It also indicated the true principles upon which the relations between Church and State ought to be maintained.

¹ It may be seen in my 'Public Appeals,' with the title, *Our Danger in Church and State*, Vol. i. pp. 59-94.

Among other encouraging letters, Dr. Pratt, of Cruden (May 26, 1854), wrote as follows :

I am unwilling to despatch this note without expressing my gratification at the course your Lordship has recently adopted for the extension of the Church in this country. The habit of acting simply on the defensive, and regarding this as all but circumscribing our duty, has sadly paralysed the Church. The bold but conciliatory tone which your Lordship is adopting—speaking the truth in love—will, I feel confident, open the way to an era in the history of the Scottish Church. You will probably meet with much coldness and opposition, especially at the first ; but I cannot doubt of your ultimate success, under God, should you be spared to prosecute the undertaking you have so happily commenced.

Encouragement to the same effect came from Dr. Ranken, of Deer, who (May 29, 1854) spoke of my lecture as—

the first hearty and energetic attempt made by a Bishop of the later Church among us to realise his position, and to win back the strayed sheep to the one fold of the One Shepherd. Hitherto we, the exponents, as we must believe, of the Divine system, . . . have done little in the way of bearing an effective testimony to the truth with which we have been put in charge. Let us be thankful that an honest and loving commencement has at length been made.

5. *Financial Difficulties—Resignation of Wardenship*

I now come to the last stage of my experiences at Glenalmond. At the annual meeting of our College Council (October 6, 1853) we found ourselves face to face with a state of things which showed that our finances, generally supposed to be more or less in a flourishing condition, were deplorably otherwise, and exhibited a deficiency (of which nothing had been known) amounting

to upwards of ten thousand pounds.¹ As a Bishop I was then, what I had not been before, a Member of Council, and as such competent to examine and discuss our financial affairs. The person mainly responsible for this unpleasant surprise was the secretary and general manager; and, with no feeling of personal hostility, but simply out of regard to the crisis only too apparent, I took upon myself to propose that we should dispense for the future with his services—a proposal that was agreed to, not without regret, by the Council. I pleaded that, building operations being now at an end, we had no occasion for such an official; that it was important to save the expense of his salary; and that we ought to be able to manage all necessary accounts at the College—which meant that I was prepared, with the assistance of the sub-Warden as bursar, to bear the burden myself rather than run the risk of further embarrassment. And this arrangement was adopted. The Committee was to consist, as before, of Mr. Smythe and Mr. Pitt Dundas, with the addition of Sir Peter Threipland and myself, *ex officio*, as Warden, who was also appointed Convener; and Mr. Smythe kindly consented to be Auditor and Honorary Secretary.

In the same report it is stated that ‘if it had not been for the extraordinary rise in the price of provisions, which may be fairly reckoned at 26 per cent., instead of a deficit in the balance to the amount of 50*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.*, there would have been a certain surplus upon the working of the institution for the past year (1853).’

Serious as were the consequences in which his mismanagement had involved us, I had, and I have, no wish to press hard upon our Secretary. He was devotedly

¹ It was a remarkable coincidence that other similar institutions, such as Radley and St. Columba's, in Ireland, fell into pecuniary difficulties, which involved a change in their administration, about the same time.

anxious for the success of the College, and exerted himself to the utmost to promote it. He had been appointed to his office in December 1845, nearly a year and a half before the College was opened, and was treated all along with great confidence and much—perhaps too much—familiarity by us all. The Primus was wont to address him as ‘My dear R——’; and Mr. Gladstone, writing to me in the autumn of 1846, before I had entered upon my office, spoke of him as ‘our excellent Secretary.’ No want of honesty, so far as I know, was ever imputed to him; but, wishing to make things appear all *couleur de rose*, he had kept the Council too much in the dark, had allowed the accounts to become complicated, and bills to remain outstanding, of which no report was given;¹ in short, he had shown himself a very bad man of business, and that not only in the College affairs, but in his own, for he soon after became a bankrupt, and was obliged to leave the country. As the result of his maladministration, the College continued for many years, and still is, I believe, to some extent, in the condition of the wounded stag that Virgil so pathetically describes:

hæret lateri lethalis arundo.

I am afraid it must be said that Mr. Gladstone was not sorry to find in these pecuniary difficulties an occasion for suggesting the removal of the Warden, who, however, was in no degree responsible for them. I had nothing to do with the finance of the College further than that I was

¹ In the reports of the new Committee submitted to the members of Council in March, 1854, whilst it was admitted that the ‘authorities of the College had no direct cognisance, and therefore no proper responsibility in respect to the financial concerns at large,’ it was stated that ‘there had been a want of precision in the way in which the accounts had been kept, and that the reports submitted to the Council had not exhibited so full a statement of the expenditure and liabilities as was desirable for the interests of an institution on so large a scale.’

allowed to draw cheques upon our bank in Edinburgh for the salaries of my assistants and for the wages of our domestics, including the gardener. All other expenditure, including provision for the meals of the whole establishment (with the exception of the Warden's household), and all subscriptions and payments from parents, &c., were in the hands of the Secretary. Certain it is that Mr. Gladstone made my ceasing to be Warden a condition of the continuance of his support of the College, and that he induced the Duke of Buccleuch to join in the same resolve. Although there was something both harsh and irregular in the procedure,¹ and the plea upon which it was more or less ostensibly based was certainly ill-founded, I cannot greatly blame him. It was only natural that, after the line which I had openly taken against his political sentiments, he should wish that the headship of what might be not untruly called his own institution should be placed in other hands. He had written to Mr. Smythe (April 30): 'The Bishop and I are old friends, and I believe that our sentiments of friendship remain to this day quite unchanged. But he for many years past has so strongly disapproved of my public conduct as to find it his duty to take some very remarkable steps in regard to it.' There was, I cannot deny, justice in the complaint. Unhappily (if it were so), I was as much wedded to my opinions as he was to his; and the departure (which seemed to me latterly something like a challenge) had come from him. He might also argue that, amid its critical circumstances, the College required the undivided services of its chief officer. Probably, too, he was under the impression that

¹ Sir Archibald Edmonstone felt this so much that he actually resigned his seat on the Council (in a letter to the Primus, June 28). Afterwards, however, under earnest persuasion, in which I joined, he consented to remain.

it had already suffered from the time and attention it was known I had given to other objects.

It may also be said that, since my acceptance of St. Ninian's, a majority of my episcopal brethren had begun to look upon me with less favour. They had supported me warmly in the matter of my election; but now the tide had turned. This was the case more especially with the Primus. I had not followed his advice to 'stamp out the Cathedral,' and he made no secret of his feeling that he would regard my resignation as a relief.¹

Moreover, it must be said that both parties fancied that they saw in Dr. Hannah, who, it was ascertained, was willing to become my successor, the very person whom they wanted to assist in extricating the College out of its pecuniary difficulties. As Rector of the Edinburgh Academy, he had already done, I believe, valuable service as a financier; and in other respects he was a good and able man, to whom the interests of the College could be safely entrusted.

For my own part, I was not sorry that such a combination of circumstances should point to the necessity of my resignation; and I felt comfort in the reflection that the dissolution of my tie to the College, to which I had become so warmly attached, should virtually be the act of others, rather than my own. For some time past my health had shown signs of beginning to give way, as it had done at Winchester, and more than once during term-time I had been obliged to leave my post for a few days of entire rest through fear of breaking down altogether. I

¹ Both the Primus and the Bishop of Edinburgh complained of my keeping up the full daily service in chapel, as injurious to the interests of the College, though it had been prescribed by the Episcopal Synod held at Aberdeen in 1846; and even Sir Archibald Edmonstone, the best Churchman among the lay members of Council, recommended me to discontinue the chanting of the Psalms, except on Sundays.

was conscious that during the last year or two, from the multiplicity of the calls upon me, I had not been doing full justice to the College, and that I had too often thrown portions of my work upon the sub-Warden—a relief to which, in hours of weakness, I was tempted to have recourse with less reserve because he was always so kindly willing, and, with his great powers, both of body and mind, so fully able, to give it. More especially had this been the case since I became Bishop; although, had I found the diocese in a less unsettled and unsatisfactory state, the additional burden might have been borne without difficulty, notwithstanding the inconvenience that every diocesan engagement involved the necessity of a drive of ten miles into and out of Perth, too often with *atra cura*, in the shape of a sick-headache, as the companion of my return. On the other hand, with a young wife and a family already of six children, my resignation was a very serious matter. I had impoverished myself by what I had spent upon the College, and the episcopal income did not then amount to 200*l.* a year. Still, although for the present I could not see my way, I did not doubt that God's good providence would eventually provide for me and mine. I remembered the promise, 'He that watereth shall be watered also himself'; and I have abundantly experienced its gracious fulfilment.

The condition in which I was to leave the College was, upon the whole (with the exception of its pecuniary embarrassments), such as I could wish. My assistants were all hearty and helpful. We felt how good and pleasant a thing it was to dwell together in unity. The number of boys was seventy, representing an increase of ten, upon an average, for each of the seven years since the opening.¹

¹ A large number of the boys (not less than twenty-eight) were withdrawn from the school when I left, so that my successor, though he brought

The entrances of students for each of the five years represented an average of five, which, as the course of study lasted for two years, would give an average of ten in residence. The discipline of the school, as shown in good behaviour and otherwise, was visibly improved. I may mention an anecdote in proof of this. At the previous Whitsuntide a large company of the boys had been taken over on a holiday excursion to see Dunkeld. Of course, their visit included the usual walk through the Duke's grounds. Shortly afterwards I had occasion myself to make the same excursion, and when I referred to the visit of the boys, and expressed a hope that they had been orderly and done no harm, my guide replied, 'O dear no, sir! If they had all been ministers they could not have behaved better.'

Above all, I had the satisfaction of knowing that my administration as Warden had been thoroughly approved,¹ not only by members of Council, such as Sir A. Edmonstone, who had taken a lively interest in the College from the first, but by those who were most competent to judge—the parents of the boys who had been under my charge,

ten boys with him, began with only fifty-two; and from that time, for six years, the school increased at the rate of ten a year (my own rate of increase), till it reached 120. From that time the numbers, though with considerable variation, have generally stood at a much lower figure till the time of the present Warden. They now amount to 126.—See *Life of Dr. Hannah*, p. 68.

¹ In a long letter (June 17, 1854) covering twenty pages of quarto letter-paper, in which he freely criticised, as I had requested him to do, the whole of the proceedings between the Council and myself from all points of view, whilst he did not acquit me of rashness and indiscretion in my attacks upon the political course of Mr. Gladstone, he wrote as follows: 'I consider the system you have organised with so much care and anxiety not only admirable in itself, but to have been excellently carried out, and I think your conduct as Warden no less worthy of our gratitude than your noble munificence.' I may also mention that both the Bishop of Moray and Mr. Lendrum, who had opposed my election to the Bishopric, expressed 'unfeigned regret' at my resignation of the Wardenship.

and by the divinity students. I venture to insert two or three specimens of letters received from parents, which afford evidence as to the beneficial working of our general system.—

Blackston, Paisley : July 27, 1854.

Right Rev. and dear Sir,—It was with much regret that I received your confirmation of the report I had previously heard, that you have deemed it advisable to resign the Wardenship of Trinity College. Although, as Bishop of the diocese, you will still superintend that institution, in which you have taken so much interest, and which you have carried through the difficulties of its first years, I fear that your time will be too much occupied by more important duties to enable you to devote much attention to it. I trust, however, for my own sake, as well as for that of the Church at large, that you may have the gratification of *seeing the system you introduced carried out in its true spirit*, and that, though absent from it in body, you may still be there in the influence which your talents have exercised over it.

Hoping that I may yet have opportunities of meeting with you, and thanking you for the good lessons bestowed on my boys there,

I remain, with much respect, &c., &c.

Very faithfully yours,

R. ROBERTSON.

The Right Reverend the Bishop of St. Andrews, &c.

Silverknow, Blackhall : July 24, 1854.

Right Rev. and dear Sir,—It is with no ordinary feelings I acknowledge receipt of your letter with such a gratifying account of my son ; but I attribute his deserving this very much to the excellent training he has received at Trinity. His mother first implanted these good feelings into his mind, but he had the great misfortune to lose her tender fostering care, guidance, and advice ; but this makes me the more grateful for having found a home for him, which has answered so well. I thank you sincerely for the care you have taken of him while at Trinity.

It may not be out of place while writing to say I regret the change which your other duties have rendered it necessary for you to make. . . .

I have always stood out against the prejudices raised against Trinity and the system pursued there. . . . My own experience was that my boy came home to me so pure and free from taint of evil that at the end of the holidays I always parted with him with perfect confidence as to his welfare in body and soul. . . .

With very kind and grateful feeling towards you,

I remain, &c., &c.

JAS. HAY MACKENZIE.

Grantham: April 30, 1854.

Right Rev. and dear Sir,—The period is drawing near when my son must leave Trinity College for the profession for which he is intended. I therefore hasten to express to your Reverence the gratitude I feel for the great care and attention which he has experienced from you and those officially connected with the institution. I regard the fact of his long residence at Glenalmond as a means, under God, of great and permanent benefit, and I am sanguine enough to believe that his future good conduct will not discredit his intellectual and religious training, and I regret much that his younger brother cannot fill his place.

Reynell will, I am quite sure, take away with him sentiments of thankful regard towards all his teachers, and always revert with proud affection to the favoured scenes of his boyhood.

Be so good as to accept of a mother's most grateful acknowledgments; and, with every sentiment of deference and regard,

I remain, &c., &c.

Very sincerely yours,

ANNA QUINET.

The following letter is at once so interesting and affecting, and so conclusive in its testimony, that I cannot refrain from adding it *in extenso*. The writer was a well-known and highly-esteemed clergyman of the Church of England.—

Egham Vicarage, Surrey: March 3, 1855.

My dear Lord,—I am sure you will sorrow for us and with us when I tell you that *one of your children*, our darling boy,

who was so long blessed by being under your kindly care, has been suddenly removed from amongst us.

He had got his commission on November 10, joined his Depôt on December 31, got his Lieutenancy on February 10, and that day sailed from Plymouth for Malta. Severe sea-sickness came on; this was followed by low fever; and on the 16th he was at *rest*. The following day our precious child was committed to the deep, to rest there till the morning of the Resurrection.

You can well imagine the desolating effect of such a blow on a home where he was idolised—where his love was so dear to every heart.

He had grown up so dear; his character had so come out of late; the seed your holy hands had sown bore such blessed fruit. He was so upright, so self-denying, so earnest-minded, so full of love to God and man, so attentive to all his religious duties, so quiet and unostentatious in his observance of them. When he came to live at home he volunteered to be a Sunday-school teacher, and retained his class till the night but one before he joined his regiment, always frequenting the weekly class of teachers, to which I gave instruction. He never missed the Holy Communion, and the last evening he was with us, when it was proposed that we should have a family Communion around a sick sister's sofa, the joy with which he hailed the intimation showed how dear to his heart such an ordinance was. 'I am so glad,' he said: 'I thought papa would have arranged so.' To this it is so blessed to be able to add the evidence of a young brother-officer of his own regiment, who, writing to his mother from Malta, and deploring bitterly his own loss, says of our darling, 'He was my dearest friend, a pious, good fellow, the only one with whom I could talk about religion.'

Such are some of our consolations amid as heavy a bereavement as parents could know, and the heaviest we have ever yet experienced. They are great blessings, we feel, and they are now told with the feeling that, under God, we owe much of them to you. He always, to the very last, spoke of you, of Mr. Moberly, and Mr. Barry, and of his dear Glenalmond, with the warmest affection. It was only a few days before he joined his regiment that, seeing a print of your Lordship in a friend's house, he was affected almost to tears.

The enclosed I wrote for him just before he left. It tells something of what he was to us all.¹

In regard to the divinity students, their feelings and opinions will best be gathered from the numerous letters I received from them after they had left the College; of which, twelve years ago, I had occasion to publish a large collection, which the reader may find in the 'Scottish Guardian' for December 17, 24, 31, 1880, and January 14, 1881. Many of the letters are full of interest, and they all show how great was the attachment of the young men to their *alma mater*.

6. *Resignation of Wardenship, July 1854.*

It now only remains to record the authoritative acts which severed my connection with the College.

My formal letter of resignation was sent to the Primus on June 24. The election of a successor being in the hands of the Bishops, an Episcopal Synod was held for that purpose at Aberdeen on July 19. The following extract is from the minutes of the meeting, at which all the Bishops were present.—

The first step taken in considering the object for which this Synod was convened was the reading the Bishop of St. Andrews' letter of resignation of the Wardenship of Trinity College, Glenalmond.

The Bishops resolve that, after the expression by the Bishop of St. Andrews of his adherence to the sentiments and resolution expressed in this letter, they have no choice but to accept his resignation, and to declare that the office of Warden of Trinity College is now vacant.

While deeply regretting this necessity, they feel that grati-

¹ A letter from Lady Sandford (January 12, 1855) about her son Daniel (now Bishop Sandford), who had been with us from the first in the Junior Department, and then passed into the Senior, is full of interest and particularly gratifying.

tude is not only due, but is actually entertained, on the part of the whole Scottish Church to the Bishop of St. Andrews for the expenditure that he has made of time, fortune, and mental exertion for the good of Trinity College ; and they hereby record their deep appreciation of the self-sacrificing zeal which has marked the connection of the first Warden with the institution, and which must ever lead Scottish Churchmen gratefully to associate with the history and future fortunes of the College the name of CHARLES WORDSWORTH.

Although his immediate connection with the College as Warden may cease, they are confident that its interests will always be dear to him, and that the Bishops will, in all matters relating to the College, retain in the person of the Bishop of St. Andrews, Dunkeld, and Dunblane, an adviser from whose experience and interest in all that relates to the cause of education, secular and ecclesiastical, in the Episcopal Church in Scotland they may still derive the most important advantage.

The Bishops then proceeded to consider the appointment of a Warden of Trinity College.

After the Synod I had the satisfaction of receiving a letter from Bishop Forbes, of Brechin, which contained the following :

I hope you are not the worse of the distressing meeting at Aberdeen. If magnanimity can extract the bitterness out of a natural disappointment, as it has excited the admiration and respect of all your brethren, your reminiscences of that Synod will not be without their dash of sweetness. With the deepest sense of the dignity and great-heartedness with which you have acted, and with the sincerest sympathy in the sorrowful elements of the affair.

The Bishop had previously written (July 24) as follows to Sir A. Edmonstone :

We had a full Synod last week, with the whole College present. We all came away much struck with the magnanimity of the Bishop of St. Andrews, whose behaviour on that occasion is beyond my poor praise.

At the annual meeting of the College Council, in October, they passed a resolution to the effect that I was to receive 200*l.* a year as a retiring pension,¹ and that any of my sons whom I might wish to send to the College should be educated gratuitously.

In order not to break the tenor of the narrative of the incidents connected with my resignation, I have passed over one or two which may claim to be mentioned before I conclude this chapter.

In March, my friend Walter Hamilton had been appointed to the Bishopric of Salisbury, amid circumstances which deserve to be placed on record. The following was his answer to my congratulations :

Close, Sarum : March 30, 1854.

My very dear Friend,—I must thank you for all your good wishes. At present I feel so utterly crushed by the events of the last three weeks—by the death of my beloved Bishop, my dear wife's confinement, and my own decision—that I am almost in a torpid state, and can feel nothing and say nothing, except on those subjects which bind me up, as my dear Bishop's executor and guardian of his children, with his memory.

When you come to me, or I come to you,—and this we must somehow manage this year,—I will give you all particulars. I will only now say that *no clergyman in the Church of England had less sought for, or desired, or expected, such an appointment.* Lord Aberdeen's selection of your *unworthy friend is a tribute of love and respect for my dear and honoured Bishop.* I send you a copy of a sermon which I trust will reach you, for it gives some particulars of the Bishop's death.

I remain, my dear Bishop,
Your affectionate Friend,
W. K. HAMILTON.

On the first occasion of my visiting him at Salisbury after he had become Bishop, we were sitting together one

¹ The necessities of the College soon reduced this grant to 100*l.*, which, on my election to a Winchester Fellowship in 1871, I voluntarily resigned.

evening in his library after family prayers, and I was on the point of leaving him for the night, when, opening a drawer, he pulled out a book, which proved to be his private Journal. 'You have been,' he said, 'such an old friend, and so closely connected with me in various incidents of my life, that I think you ought to know the circumstances amid which I accepted my present office. They are rather remarkable, and you may like to hear them, especially as your name occurs more than once in the course of the narrative.' He then proceeded to read from his Journal what, to the best of my remembrance, was to this effect :

One Saturday morning, about three weeks after the late Bishop's death, I received a telegram from the Prime Minister (Lord Aberdeen), saying that he wished to see me as soon as I could come to him. I started at once for London, and called upon him that afternoon. When shown into the room where he was sitting, I was somewhat startled by the abrupt manner in which, putting a letter into my hands, he said, 'I suppose, Mr. Hamilton, you know that letter?' After looking at it for a moment I replied, 'No, my Lord: I have never seen it before.' 'Then read it.' I had not got far when it occurred to me that, just before the end, when I was in the Bishop's bedroom, but not near enough to hear what was said, I had seen him dictating something to Mrs. Denison, who was sitting and writing by his bedside; and that this letter was what she had written. Nothing could have been more pathetic. It told how he was on the point of leaving this world to give up his account; and in his anxiety for the welfare of his flock he adjured Lord Aberdeen, by their long friendship, to appoint as his successor one—mentioning me—whose zeal and faithfulness he could thoroughly depend upon. When I had finished reading, and had returned the letter, Lord Aberdeen remarked that, anxious as he might be to comply with the dying request of a friend whom he esteemed so highly, and who, he was persuaded, could have no other object in making it but the welfare of his diocese, yet he felt that to act upon it immediately—that is, virtually to allow a Bishop to nominate his successor—would be a dangerous precedent. So he had offered the vacancy to Professor Blunt, of Cambridge; but, as that

gentleman had declined it, he now felt himself at liberty, and it gave him very great pleasure, to offer it to me, and he trusted I should have no difficulty in accepting it. The announcement took me so entirely by surprise, I was so unprepared, and the matter was so very serious, that I felt, if I did not refuse at once, I must at least take time to consider it. I must consult friends, &c. ; and so I told Lord Aberdeen. He was rather disconcerted at this, and asked : 'Have you no friends in London to whom you could apply for advice ? The Queen is anxious about the matter, and I have promised to let her know the result of my communication with you not later than to-morrow (Sunday) afternoon.' 'Yes,' I replied : 'I have a friend, a member of your Lordship's Government—Mr. Gladstone.' 'O !' said he, interrupting me, 'I know what he will say. He is already aware of my intention, and he confirmed me in it by the opinion which he gave of you. However, go and consult him ; and let me know your answer as early as you can to-morrow.' I went immediately to Gladstone, and had a long conversation with him that evening, in the course of which he did his best to overcome my scruples, but without success. The next day he came to me ; and the conversation was resumed, and carried on during the whole of the forenoon. Among other arguments, he urged your example. 'Your friend, Charles Wordsworth,' he said, 'is making a very good Bishop in Scotland, and there is no reason why you should not do the same in England.' At length I gave way, though very reluctantly, to his persuasions ; and went to Lord Aberdeen to inform him that I was prepared to accept his offer.

Before the summer holidays came which were to set us free for our final departure, a volume of 'Sermons Preached at Trinity College, Glenalmond,' was published under the editorship of the sub-Warden ; to which I contributed seven, Barry himself eight, Moberly two, Witherby two, Mount two, Bright two, and the Warden of Winchester one—twenty-four in all. It was intended to afford the public a specimen of the religious teaching given at the College during the first seven years of its existence.

The removal of my library, which was large, was a serious matter. The books had to be replaced in boxes,

to remain unopened until I could fix upon a more permanent residence than the lodging which I had taken for the present in Perth.

Soon after we left the College subscriptions to what was called the 'Wordsworth Testimonial' were set on foot, mainly through the exertions of my kind friend Mr. (now Sir William) Walker of Bowland, which resulted in raising the sum of 2,386*l.* 6*s.* 10*d.* It was left to each contributor to assign his gift either to the Bishop and his family or to the endowment of the see. For the former object 960*l.* was subscribed; for the latter, 1,426*l.* 6*s.* 10*d.*

It was a satisfaction to me that I was always on friendly and agreeable terms with my successor, Dr. Hannah. He never failed, I believe, to do full justice to what I had endeavoured to do as Warden. It may suffice to quote the following words from the Memoir by Canon Overton :

Bishop Wordsworth had, in short, made Glenalmond pre-eminently a training-ground for Christian gentlemen, and no one recognised this fact more generously than Dr. Hannah himself (p. 66).

CHAPTER IX

EARLY EPISCOPATE (*continued*)—1854—1863.

The Ministry of Baptism—Principal Caird—Defence of the Scotch Office—Residence at Dunkeld—George Forbes and Immersion—Diocesan Association—Rev. G. R. Gleig—Captain Drummond—Lectures on Reunion—Sir Alexander Grant—Lectures in London.

My life at Glenalmond, especially in the latter year and a half, during which I had to discharge the duties of both Bishop and Warden, had certainly been neither an idle nor an easy one; and after my resignation of the Wardenship it was still a considerable time before I obtained substantial relief from serious troubles and distresses, though at the same time I was supported and cheered by the reflection that I had a field before me which afforded noble opportunities for exertion. My first cause for anxiety was the state of my wife's health, upon which the harassing events which preceded and attended our departure from Glenalmond had, not unnaturally, produced a very injurious effect. After spending our mid-summer holiday, as usual, in visits to my father-in-law at Burghelere, and to his brother, the Warden, at Winchester, we returned early in September to our lodging in Rose Terrace at Perth—a pleasant situation facing the North Inch, with the glorious Tay flowing full in view, and the woods of Scone Palace spreading to the north-east;—but before the autumn was over we had occasion to return to England, in order that I might take my wife, under medical advice, to Bournemouth. In the meantime, however, our annual Diocesan Synod had been held in the Cathedral on St. Matthew's Day (September 21), the anniversary of my enthronisation, and I had delivered

my primary Charge, the composition of which had occupied me during my stay in England. It was rather an elaborate document, being designed to lay the foundation for the future addresses which I was to make as Bishop, especially on the subject of Union. The main point with which it dealt was the Ministry of Baptism. My revered predecessor, in common with the nonjuring school of divines generally, had used 'unhesitating language' in regard to the nullity of baptism not administered by clergy within an Episcopal church. To approach our Presbyterian brethren with any hope of a favourable hearing for our cause, I felt that all such teaching must be formally disavowed, and that we must recognise them as made through baptism *bonâ-fide* members, no less than ourselves, of the Church of Christ. Thus only could I expect to lay a strong and broad foundation for the appeals which I hoped to make to them from time to time. Although there were some of the clergy who shared Bishop Torry's sentiments, the Charge upon the whole was so well received that I was unanimously requested by the hearers, both clerical and lay, to allow it to be published at their expense; and, although the first impression was a large one, it passed speedily into a second edition.

Up to this time, except in the annual meetings of the Church Society (which confined itself merely to matters of finance), the laity as a body had taken no part beyond the business of their respective congregations, and consequently had shown very little interest, in the general affairs of our Church. To endeavour to remedy this state of things (already mentioned in connection with the special Synod held at Glenalmond in the previous year), and at the same time not to interfere with the canonical status of our clerical Synods, I proposed to hold, on the day after the Synod, what I called a Visitation, in which clergy and laity might meet together and discuss Church subjects upon

equal terms, under the presidency of the Bishop, in the same way as has since been done in England in the Church Congress and in Diocesan Conferences. It was an experiment, and proved quite successful. Coming on the day after the Synod, the Visitation afforded me an opportunity of reporting to the laymen present anything worthy of notice that had occurred at the Synod in regard to the state and progress of the Diocese; and, in order to give greater weight to its proceedings, and to enlist the interest of the laity as well as of the clergy in what I had to say, I reserved the delivery of my Charge for that occasion, the Provost of St. Ninian's having preached at the Synod.

It will be seen in the sequel how it came to pass that I was driven, very reluctantly, to abandon my Visitation scheme, which had so much to recommend it and promised such good results, after it had been in operation for five consecutive years.

The Synod and Visitation being over, we were at liberty to set out for Bournemouth. For my own part, I was not much drawn to the place; but I had the good fortune to make some agreeable and valued acquaintances, to whose kind attention and sympathy it was a comfort to me to entrust the care of my invalid wife when, after a few weeks, a call of episcopal duty made it necessary for me to return to my diocese.

The call was a peculiar one. Mr. — had rendered himself so obnoxious to his congregation at M—— that they were determined to get rid of him. They stopped the supplies. In other words, they would do nothing for his support. At length this rough and summary usage—only possible in a voluntary church—had the desired effect. Being already incumbent of another small church lately built at C——, he was willing to resign the charge of M——, but only into the hands of the Bishop himself. I con-

sented to undertake it—at all events, for a short time. I was glad of the opportunity which it afforded me of showing by my example what I wished to be done by my clergy, especially by those who had charges so small and so little laborious as M—— was. With the assistance of a young deacon, Mr. B——, who had been my pupil at Trinity College, I set on foot the full daily service, morning and afternoon. Often there was no one visibly present besides ourselves; but this was to me no impediment. I considered that we had the benefit for ourselves of saying the Psalms and reading the Lessons, and I did not doubt that the prayers and intercessions would be beneficial, not only for those of our flock and of the diocese who were absent, but for the Church at large. We organised a small school;¹ and the children came to church for the midday Litany on Wednesdays and Fridays, and for the ante-Communion on Saints' Days, when, instead of preaching, I catechised them after the Nicene Creed. I arrived at M—— in time to begin this course on Advent Sunday; and I continued it until after Easter, when the return of the proprietor, whose house I had occupied,—there was no parsonage—obliged me to withdraw. My wife had joined me, some weeks previously, in improved health.

The following letter, received while I was at M—— from Mr. (now Dr. and Principal) Caird, will show how anxious I was from the first not to wrap up myself merely in my own notions, but to seek to become acquainted with the thoughts and views of good and earnest Presbyterians. The letter came to me in this way. A friend had put into my hands a sermon of Mr. Caird's, which had been preached

¹ This was long before the days of Board Schools. I express an opinion different from that of many of my brother-clergy; but I must say that I am not in favour of setting up a school for ourselves, except in places where our numbers are sufficient to render the school self-supporting.

on Good Friday in a Scotch church in London, and had appeared in the 'Penny Pulpit.' The subject, I remember, was 'The Solitariness of Christ's Sufferings,' and I had been so much struck with it that I ventured to write to the author and ask whether he had published anything else, as, if so, I should wish to read it; and I added that, as we should be almost near neighbours when I came, as I expected shortly to do, to reside at Perth, I hoped I might be allowed to take an early opportunity of paying my respects to him.

Errol House: March 15, 1855.

Rev. and dear Sir,—I have been prevented by various engagements from replying immediately to your very kind communication.

I shall not pretend to be insensible to commendation such as yours; nor can I feel otherwise than greatly honoured in having my acquaintance sought by one occupying so eminent a position in Christ's Church. It is no light thing, forgive me for adding, in days such as ours, to find any approach to Christian sympathy manifested between those whose ecclesiastical positions and associations are so very different.

I have not published anything besides the sermon of which you speak. Indeed, I should not say 'besides,' for this sermon was extorted from me by the London pulpit reporters, and I should never, of my own accord, have thought of publishing it. There is no false modesty, I hope, in saying that I shrink, without more reading and thought than I have yet had the opportunity of overtaking, from the attempt to seek a wider scope for my thoughts than my own pulpit and parish afford me, being somewhat of George Herbert's opinion on this matter, that 'to take degrees *per saltum*, though of quick despatch, is but a truant's trick.'

Again allow me to thank you for your kindness in writing me, and permit me to subscribe myself, with much respect,

Very faithfully and sincerely yours,

JOHN CAIRD.

It would be well if our young men would take from that letter a lesson of modesty and humility on the part of one

whose remarkable merit would have justified a very different estimate of his claim to public notice, as was indicated shortly after by the Queen's command to the writer to publish the sermon he had preached before her.

While staying at M—— I had sent to press 'Three Short Sermons on the Holy Communion considered as a Sacrifice, Sacrament, and Eucharist,' which I had preached at Glenalmond in 1851. At that time there was a prejudice rapidly spreading in my own diocese and elsewhere against the so-called Scotch Communion Office, and I felt it my duty to endeavour to allay it as far as possible. It was a main object of the publication to point out what there was of difference between the two Offices; to explain that the difference involved no doctrinal disagreement; and to intimate wherein the Scotch had the advantage. The Preface drew attention to the fact that at Trinity College it had been my duty to use both Offices on alternate Sundays, according to the injunction of the Episcopal Synod, which contained these words: 'It shall be the acknowledged duty of the Warden earnestly to recommend and inculcate on his pupils the propriety of their attendance on either service, the doctrine of the two Churches, though varied in expression, being confessedly one and the same.' During the first four or five years of my Episcopate I received applications to sanction the partial or entire abandonment of the Scotch Office, and the substitution of the English Office in its place, from Alyth, Muthill, Forfar, Strathtay, and Blairgowrie, all of them but one old Scotch congregations; and in no case could the movement be attributed to Anglicising influence. I did what I could to withstand the proposed changes, but with very little success. At Alyth and at Muthill I delivered special addresses to the congregation; of which the former was afterwards published (1859) under the title, 'A Plain Tract on the Scotch

Communion Office: its History, Principles, and Advantages.'

After leaving M—— and paying several visits in Scotland, we removed at Whitsuntide to Dunkeld, where we had taken Birnam Cottage, beautifully situated on the south bank of the Tay, for a year. Birnam, although a most attractive spot, lies low, and is enclosed with mountains; and when the summer months were over, whether from want of sun or some other cause, the situation in our case proved so unwholesome—every member of the household, including servants and children, being attacked with some degree of illness—that we were obliged to leave, and withdrew to England. I had been so much charmed with the place that I contemplated taking a longer lease and enlarging the house; but, happily, nothing had been finally arranged before I encountered the experience I have just described. The previous summer had been unusually hot, which may have had some effect upon the climate, and produced during that winter an unusual malaria.

At Dunkeld the congregation was very small, and our service was held in an upper room over a stable, the church at Birnam not being yet built: so I frequently went into Perth for the Sunday, to preach either at St. Ninian's or at St. John's, especially at the latter, the incumbency of which was then vacant, through the resignation of Mr. Wood. On one such occasion I met with a curious illustration of the effect which our worship, as then conducted at the Cathedral, was likely to have upon the minds even of the more respectable portion of the humbler orders in Perth. I was travelling outside the Inverness Mail from Dunkeld, before the days of Highland Railways, late one Saturday evening, in order to preach at St. Ninian's on the day following, and I had as a companion an elderly and intelligent woman, whom I took to be the wife of a small farmer,

who had interested me by the sensible and religious tone of her conversation. She had no suspicion who I was, for the night was dark and stormy, and I was wrapped up closely in travelling costume; and as we came to our journey's end the coach had stopped to allow a passenger to dismount at the corner of the street opposite the Cathedral (which had a light in the sacristy, probably for choral practice). Pointing to the building, she said to me, 'Were you ever in that place?' and, without waiting for an answer, continued, 'I was there once, but never intend to go again. When I came out, I said to myself, "I wonder, now, whether they know what they have been about, for I'm sure I don't."' There was no ill-nature in the remark. It was merely the simple record of her own experience.

The Synod and Visitation for that year (1855) were held on August 28 and 29. At the Synod (where the number of clergy had risen to twenty-seven) the sermon was preached by Mr. Blatch. I gave no written Charge, but had occasion to speak upon several matters of more or less importance. I announced that, at the instance of my Episcopal brethren, I had signed a concordat whereby Trinity College had become extra-diocesan, with the Primus as Ordinary. Also, I communicated the results of some private and confidential returns which I had recently obtained from the clergy. As compared with the now existing state of things in regard to the maintenance of the clergy, and as affording means for judging of the progress made since that time in at least one important department, they afford so much ground for thankfulness that they deserve, I think, to be placed on record. From the return referred to it appeared that—

The entire provision *made by the diocese* for its Bishop, its Cathedral staff, and twenty incumbents, of whom the greater part are married and have families, does not amount altogether

to 2,000*l. per annum*; that the average does not exceed 70*l.* that, including charitable grants of all kinds *from outside the diocese*, viz. the Episcopal Fund, the Church Society, the Pantonian Fund, and the private endowment of St. Ninian's, the total amount barely exceeds 2,500*l.*, giving an average of something less than 100*l. per annum*.¹ That only four incumbents have parsonages, or an equivalent allowance, no provision being made for the residence of the Bishop, or of the Dean, or of any of the Cathedral staff; that only two of the clergy have had clerical vestments provided for them; that in some cases the repairs of the church fall altogether upon the incumbent, in others their cost is deducted from the stipend which he would otherwise receive; that in about five cases there is something like a security for the regular payment of the incumbent's stipend, in the rest there is none.

There was a topic, of more importance, which led to much and animated discussion. Mr. G. Forbes had introduced at Burntisland the practice of immersion in the administration of baptism, and had published a tract in which he condemned the current usage of the Church, insisting upon immersion as alone 'Scriptural, Primitive, and Rubrical,' and was then building a baptistery in order to carry out his views more effectually. After explaining at some length what I conceived to be the teaching of our Church upon the subject, and after appealing, without success, to Mr. Forbes to withdraw his tract, I submitted to the Synod the following formal expression of opinion, stating at the same time that I had no wish at present to proceed to any more stringent measure :

In consequence of a publication which has recently appeared from one of the clergy of this diocese, entitled 'Baptism by Im-

¹ There is no mention made of the *Regium Donum*, which amounted, I believe, to 2,000*l.* every other year, to be divided among the Bishops and a certain number of the poorer Presbyters of the whole Church. But I rather think that the grant was suspended by Parliament for two or three years about that time.—See Mr. Johnston's speech at Visitation in the following year (*Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, p. 150).

mersion Scriptural, Primitive, and Rubrical,' I think it incumbent upon me, as Bishop of the diocese, for the quieting of the consciences of weaker brethren, and for the removal of scruple and doubtfulness upon so vital a point, to make known my opinion to this effect :

1. That baptism by immersion in the case of adults is not required by the Book of Common Prayer, but is, rather, contrary to the existing order for its administration provided in that book ; and partly for this, and partly on other accounts, no individual minister is justified in introducing it at the present time without the express sanction of the Church.

2. That it would be desirable that all fonts should be constructed so as to admit of immersion in the case of infant baptism.

3. That where the font is so constructed any minister, having given due notice of his intention, is at liberty to use immersion, unless the sponsors shall desire otherwise.

The clergy were unanimous, or nearly so, in condemning the proceedings of Mr. Forbes. His friends, Mr. Lendrum and Mr. Humble, came to his relief so far as to say that, the subject being a difficult one, they would be glad of more time to consider it before they came to a definite decision. After the debate, and the pronouncement of the Bishop's judgment, the Synod was content to acquiesce in the postponement of the question.

Another topic of discussion related to the Irvingites. In this case also Mr. Forbes was the aggressor. He wished that something should be done to put a stop to their admission to Communion, and thought it might be sufficient if the Bishop would declare his opinion that such admission was inconsistent with the good order and discipline of the Church. The discussion led to no decision. The Bishop was prepared to signify his disapproval of all irregularities ; but he doubted very much whether the mere expression of his opinion would suffice to put a stop to them ; and Mr. Forbes, not unnaturally, was reminded that the Bishop had

already pronounced judgment upon another matter, and that no deference had been paid to it by the person whom it most concerned.

I have said that this year I delivered no Charge *at the Synod*: but I presented to each of the clergy a copy of a Pastoral Letter by the Bishop of Glasgow (Trower), which dealt very ably and judiciously with the subject of Ritualism, then just beginning to assume importance; and *at the Visitation* I preached a sermon, from 2 Tim. iv. 5, on 'The Twofold Ministry of Clergy and Laity,' in which my purpose was to point out that the laity, no less than the clergy, were 'a holy Priesthood,' and, by the promises made and the spiritual gifts bestowed upon them in Confirmation, had distinct duties to perform for the furtherance of Christ's Kingdom in the stations and conditions of life to which God's providence had called them.¹ Towards the conclusion of the sermon I announced my intention in the subsequent proceedings to submit a scheme by which the duties I had insisted on might be carried into effect. The scheme involved the institution of a *Diocesan Association for Church Purposes*, in which I earnestly requested the co-operation of the laity. It was as follows:

The objects of the Association will be:

i. To organise annual collections through the offertory, and otherwise, for the following purposes in rotation, either quarterly or within such periods of the year as shall be fixed upon as most desirable in the circumstances of the congregation,—viz., for:

1. The Church Society, as heretofore.
2. The educational schemes of the Church; also as at present.
3. The endowment of the Bishopric.

¹ In that sermon mention was made of the fact that within *ten* years there had been *six* several occasions of 'Public Humiliation' for national sins which had brought down upon the country the outpouring of the vials of God's wrath by famine, by pestilence, and by the sword.

4. The endowment of each incumbency, as proposed in the Church Society's Report for the present year.

ii. To raise subscriptions and make grants in aid of :

1. The establishment of new congregations.
2. The establishment of new schools.
3. The provision of means for the retirement of aged or otherwise disabled clergy.
4. The education of the children of the clergy who have large families.

iii. To print and circulate tracts for the benefit of persons who desire to make themselves acquainted with the principles of the Church.

It is not intended that the Association shall supersede or in any way interfere with the operations of the Church Society ; on the contrary, it will seek to do all in its power to strengthen the hands of that Society. At the same time, however, it is felt that each separate diocese has duties and responsibilities of its own, which no combination external to itself can enable it to discharge ; and that until these responsibilities are acknowledged, and the practice of these duties called forth upon the sacred principles which Episcopacy implies, we can never expect that either the available means and resources of the diocese will be accurately ascertained, or its wants fully recognised and effectually supplied.¹

This prospectus was evidently too ambitious to be practically adopted, at that time, in anything like its full extent ; but it laid the foundation of important results in several departments, not only for our own diocese, but for the Church at large. For example, the endowment of the Bishopric, by ordering an annual offertory to be made for the purpose in each congregation, was immediately taken in hand ; and this was carried out (mainly through the exertions of Lord Rollo, in the first instance, and afterwards, when he

¹ For further elucidation of the scheme, see the speech of Mr. Johnston, of Kirkcaldy, at the Visitation of the following year (*Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*, p. 150).

had occasion to be often absent from home, of Colonel Drummond Hay) until the sum originally contemplated, 500*l.* a year, had been fully reached. The same plan, after a time, was gradually adopted, more or less, in other dioceses. To Lord Rollo also belongs the main credit of instituting our Diocesan Foreign Mission Association, which followed shortly afterwards; while the abridgment, by Mr. Burton, of that excellent American work, 'A Presbyterian Clergyman Looking for the Church,' was an indication of what I wished to see done towards providing popular literature which might serve to make known the claims and recommend the principles of our Church. Still, although, as I have said, my scheme was on too large a scale to be fully realised, I have thought it desirable to place it on record, mainly on two accounts. It will show (1) that, anxious as I was from the first to lose no opportunity of pressing upon those *without* our Church 'the great dangers we are in by our unhappy divisions,' and the urgent duty of endeavouring to heal them, I was no less anxious to strengthen and extend the *internal* machinery of our own body; and (2) that, while I anticipated, in theory at least, much of the work which is now being done so effectually by the R. C. Council, I was cautious to keep fully in view the diocesan principle, which the Council is gradually tending, it may be feared, to lose sight of.

Among the clergy present, both at Synod and at Visitation, was the then Chaplain-General, the Rev. G. R. Gleig, son of our former Primus, and, like his father, a man of considerable eminence in more than one branch of literature. He was in the habit of coming to spend his summer holidays in the neighbourhood of Callander, and kindly undertook the duty of our new mission at that place. Referring to my sermon at the Visitation, and to

my proposal for a Diocesan Association, he made some remarks which have not ceased to be applicable and of value at the present time :

He trusted that the excellent advice which had been given them that day would not be lost. He quite agreed that the Church Society alone was not sufficient. Something must be done to lay the foundation of a fund for diocesan purposes. As a Scotchman, and feeling a deep interest in the welfare of the Scottish Church, he had often been put to the blush by the many appeals which were made from this country to English Churchmen, and to which the natural, and he could not but think very just, retort was, Why did we not help ourselves, seeing there was no Church in Christendom which, from the affluence of its members, was able to do so much, and yet did so little? He sincerely hoped that the time was come when some strong effort would be made by the laity to do away with this reproach.

It may be well to add that so early as this year two matters, which have since been frequently coming up for reconsideration and amendment, were brought under discussion: at the Synod, *The Schedule of Statistical Returns*; and, at the Visitation, *The Form for the Constitution of Churches*.¹

Among my occupations before we left Birnam Cottage there was one of especial interest. It was to prepare, and preach at St. John's, Perth, a funeral sermon upon the death of the Honourable Captain Robert Drummond, who, as the second son of the late Earl of Kinnoull, had inherited the estates of Cromlix and Innerpeffray. I had made his acquaintance before he went out to the Crimea, and had been able to form some estimate of his saintly character; and his sister, Lady Louisa Moncreiffe, had furnished me

¹ In this and foregoing pages free use has been made of 'A Report of the Proceedings of the Synod and Visitation for 1855 of the Diocese of St. Andrews, &c., including the Bishop's Visitation Sermon, reprinted from the *Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal*' (p. 33).

with materials from correspondence—partly his own, and partly that of his comrades in the Siege of Sebastopol—which greatly enhanced that estimate. He had been wounded in the war, and the vessel in which he was returning home had already reached Spithead when he expired on board. Even at this distance of time, I feel a melancholy pleasure in quoting from the sermon what follows :

One of his comrades writes : ‘The good he has done in private and the assistance he has given to the soldiers’ wives are untold. There never was a person more fit to leave the world and meet his Redeemer.’ Another testifies : ‘You could not find a man in this whole Army more fit to die. He has been the constant nurse and comforter of those who were suffering, of many who are gone before him, and of many who live to pray for a blessing on him, and to mourn the loss of one whose example it will be a privilege to follow.’

During the winter (1855–56), which (being driven away from Birnam Cottage in the way before described) we spent in visits to Burghclere and Winchester, I was engaged in composing a course of lectures, which I hoped to be able to deliver in all the large towns in Scotland, and especially at the seats of the four Universities—St. Andrews, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen—and in which my purpose was to treat the subject of Church Reunion as exhaustively as I could, or, in other words, to set forth the evils of our ‘unhappy divisions’ in such a way that earnest and intelligent Christians of all ‘denominations’ throughout the country might be led to seek for their remedy. The course consisted of four lectures, under the following heads :

1. Unity among Christians, or divine law of universal obligation.
2. Divine provision for the observance of the law by a threefold ministry of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.

3. Outline of the argument in favour of that ministry.

4. Practical application of the law of unity, with a view to the removal of existing difficulties and objections.

The lectures were delivered at Edinburgh (Queen Street Hall) in April, at Forfar (Town Hall) in June, at Perth (City Hall) in July and August, at St. Andrews (the Old Town Hall in Market Street, now destroyed) in December ; and, upon the whole, I had every reason to be satisfied with their reception. I can recall several incidents connected with their delivery which are, perhaps, of sufficient interest to be recorded.

1. At Edinburgh, Bishop Terrot was present throughout the course. He was a man not very easy to please, especially in matters of theological controversy, for which he had little taste. Therefore, I was encouraged when I learnt that after the first lecture he had been overheard to say in Grant the bookseller's shop, 'I went last night to hear my brother-Bishop out of respect to him : I shall go to his next lecture to please myself.'

2. At Forfar, Mr. Stewart, the parish minister of Oathlaw, a man well known, and esteemed on account of his philanthropic exertions for improving the dwellings of the agricultural poor and correcting the evils of the bothy system, had been one of my audience ; and when I was introduced to him afterwards, and I showed some surprise at his congratulating me upon the goodness of the attendance, which had not amounted to more than seventy or eighty in a room which would have held 200, he went on to say, 'I can remember when Dr. Chalmers lectured in that Hall, and there were not above a dozen present,' which he accounted for by telling me, further, 'that Forfar was supposed to be under a curse, because at the time of the French Revolution the people, under the in-

fluence of a fanatical agitator, had brought their Bibles out into the street and made a bonfire of them.' Mr. Shaw was then our clergyman at Forfar; and after the delivery of the last lecture he told me that he had met in the street a working-man, a Presbyterian, who had been present, and whom he accosted thus: 'Well, John, I saw you were at the Bishop's lecture: do you think any of your ministers will attempt to answer him?' 'I dinna ken.' Then, after a pause, shaking his head significantly, he added, 'Better no meddle wi' the like o' yon.' Having had occasion to mention Mr. Shaw, I cannot refrain from offering a tribute to his memory. He had been born and bred a Presbyterian; but, having made up his mind to take orders in our Church, he became one of my students at Trinity College. He turned to good account the advantages he enjoyed for studying at all points our controversy with Presbyterians; and he had been most kind and helpful to me about my lectures, copying out the whole in his fine, large hand. He was a man who combined genuine Christian zeal with sound judgment and discretion, and his early death was a grievous loss to me. There was not one among my clergy at that time whom I should have missed more.

3. At Perth, when my servant went round to the principal tradesmen to ask permission to have the placards announcing my lectures placed in their shop-windows, the answer he received from a highly-respectable bookseller, an elder of the Established Church, was this: 'O! to be sure. The Bishop is quite welcome. He is only doing what our ministers themselves wish; but they have not courage to tell their people so.'

4. The most noteworthy incident occurred at St. Andrews. The lectures were delivered in the Old Town Hall, in Market Street, which has since disappeared, and is

now superseded by a much more handsome and commodious structure in South Street. What I have to tell happened, I think, in the second of the lectures. After going on for some time, I was much annoyed by a gentleman sitting at a little distance in front of the platform, who talked so loudly that I fancied he must be some violent Free Churchman, determined to show his disapproval of the views I was maintaining. At length I stopped short and said: 'I think, ladies and gentlemen, we are met upon the understanding that I am to speak, and you are to be so good as to listen to what I have to say. But there is a gentleman present who has been talking so loudly that he disturbs me, and I think he must have disturbed those who are sitting near him.' The applausive reception given to the words showed that I had hit the mark. The gentleman started up. I went on to say that I should be quite satisfied if he would only resume his seat and remain quiet. However, he preferred to act otherwise. He took up his hat and left the room, and I proceeded with my lecture. When it was over, and I descended from the platform, several of the audience, mostly ladies, came about me and said, 'Do you know what you have done?' 'No,' I replied: 'I hope I have done nothing wrong.' 'O dear, no: quite the contrary. You could not have done anything better. That was Sir Alexander Grant; and he was explaining to the young lady who sat next to him, Miss F——, to whom he is engaged to be married, the merits of your lecture. He is rather eccentric and absent, and often disturbs our congregation in church in the same way. So you did quite the right thing.' I must add, to Sir Alexander's credit, that he called upon me the next morning to make an apology. He told me that he had been a pupil of my brother's at Harrow, and had once met me at breakfast at his house in the Cloisters, Westminster. We never met again but

once, and that was many years afterwards, at the table of Dean Ramsay, in Edinburgh. He had then returned from India, and become Principal of Edinburgh University. We sat next to each other, and the kindness of his manner and the agreeable conversation which I had with him showed abundantly that he had cherished no resentment whatever for the untoward *rencontre* of former days. The story got abroad, as I had occasion to know, for on the only occasion on which I had the pleasure of meeting Thackeray, on Stanley's invitation to an evening party at The Deanery, Westminster, he told me he had recently returned from Scotland, and had heard it at Aberdeen. I was afraid it might have reached him in some exaggerated form, and to my discredit: so I said to him, 'You are a great authority upon lecturing and lecturers: I should like to know whether you think I did right.' 'Tell me what you did.' I told him exactly what had happened. 'That is just what I heard, and I think you did quite right.'

I am tempted to add one more incident connected with these lectures before I quit the subject. Ernest Hawkins, the highly-esteemed secretary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, had felt an interest in what I had been doing in Scotland, and when I was in London in the following spring he undertook to obtain for me an auditory of leading Churchmen of various schools, if I would deliver one of my lectures privately, on a Sunday evening. I readily consented, hoping to interest them in the subject (then comparatively a new one) of Church Reunion, and with that view chose the last of the series. Sir R. Phillimore kindly consented to place his drawing-room at our service; and when the time came the company consisted of some twenty-five or thirty, among whom were the venerable Bishop of Exeter (Phillpotts), Lord Lyttelton, the Vice-Chancellor,

Page-Wood (afterwards Lord Chancellor Hatherley), Professor (afterwards Dean) Stanley, Mr. Bernand (then Editor of the 'Guardian'), Dr. Phillimore, Mr. Kemp, Mr. Dickinson, Mr. Hubbard, Ernest Hawkins, Mr. Sadler, Mr. Godley, Mr. Bullock—all men of note among Churchmen in that day, but of whom not more than one or two, I think, are now living.

The lectures have never been published; but large portions of the materials of the first three were made use of in my 'Outlines of the Christian Ministry,' 1872; and a considerable extract 'On Romanism' from the fourth, which had been fully reported in a Perth paper, and copied into the 'English Churchman,' had attracted the notice of Mr. Godfray, of Jersey, one of the Editors of the Anglo-Continental Society's publications, who was then engaged on a translation into French of Bishop S. Wilberforce's sermon on the English Reformation, to which were to be added extracts from a sermon by the Bishop of Fredericton and from the writings of other English divines; and he asked (October 9, 1856) my permission—which, of course, I gave—to incorporate among them the passage I have referred to.

I may now turn back and resume the thread of my narrative. After leaving Birnam Cottage at Whitsuntide we took up our abode at Pitcullen Bank, a commodious house just out of Perth on the east side, with grounds pleasantly laid out, but no garden; and there we remained for two years. Three of the courses of the lectures, as above described, had been delivered, when Ordination, and the Synod, and Visitation came on at St. Ninian's on August 26 and 27. At the latter I gave an elaborate Charge on the Power and Source of Ordination. See a notice of it in the 'Scottish Ecclesiastical Journal' (p. 149). It was not published; but use has been made of it in my 'Outlines' (pp. 212-26).

APPENDIX

RULES OF DISCIPLINE TO BE OBSERVED AT TRINITY COLLEGE

Deus Unus, Unus in Tribus, fac nos ita
Amare et intelligere et esse, unum ut simul
Fiamus alter alteri, atque unum Tibi.

RULES AND REGULATIONS

The Chapel

1. No boy will appear in chapel without a Bible and Prayer Book.

2. Every boy on coming to his place in the chapel will kneel down and say a secret prayer. He will do the same before leaving his place at the conclusion of the service.

3. It is solemnly enjoined upon every boy, as part of his essential duty to God, to his neighbour, and to himself, to say or sing, audibly and devoutly, all those portions of the service which are required of the congregation, either by the express order of the Prayer Book, or by the established usage of the Church.

At the same time, no boy will imagine that mere lip-service can be acceptable to God; rather, we are assured it is an abomination in His sight, and that they only who live obediently in His faith and fear are heard when they pray to Him in spirit and in truth.

4. Every boy will look out the Lessons in his own Bible, and follow them attentively while they are being read.

5. The boys will be particularly careful of all their attitudes and gestures in the chapel, as conscious that they are in the immediate Presence of Almighty God; remembering how they would behave if they were admitted into a palace, and suffered to

address an earthly king, and being desirous to place themselves in such a becoming posture during all parts of the service (whether kneeling, standing, or sitting) as may help to compose and fix and elevate their thoughts in a manner suitable to the several offices of prayer or praise, or hearing the Word of God read or preached.

6. On going into chapel, no talking is allowed after entering the ante-chapel.

7. Surplices are to be worn on all holidays and eves.

In wearing them, the boys will bear in mind what is intended by the pure white garment, and why it is required for their appearance at such times in the House of God. In putting it on or off they will be careful to do so without confusion, and not to loiter with it on about the cloisters or study-room, but return it quietly to its place immediately after chapel.

8. In going into chapel, any boy who is seen without his hat or cap, or walking apart from his *socius*, will be liable to punishment.

The Dormitories

1. No boy is allowed to go up into his bedroom without express permission, except at bedtime, nor into the galleries upstairs, except under the same restriction, and when he has occasion to put on his surplice and put it back in its proper place.

2. In going up to bed and in coming down in the morning, perfect good order is required to be observed.

Noise and disorder of any kind in the galleries or on the stairs will be punished.

3. On no occasion is a boy to go into any other bedroom but his own without express permission, except on the last day of each half-year, on which the law is suspended until the time of going up to bed, but not after.

This law applies equally to the upper dormitory, in which all disturbance, all violation of each other's privacy by looking over the partitions, and all speaking of one boy to another in the different apartments, is strictly forbidden.

4. All boys are required to be in their beds and their lamps put out within half an hour after they have gone upstairs. Any boy who has a light in his room after that time will be liable to punishment.

5. No boy is allowed to leave his bedroom in the morning earlier than six o'clock, or than five on the last morning of the half-year.

Boys of the Lower School are not allowed to go beyond the College premises before the first chapel on Sundays and other holy days.

6. Any boy who exceeds the prescribed weekly allowance of clean linen (*viz.*, three day-shirts and cravats, four cravats for boys in the first class, three pairs of stockings, one flannel waistcoat, and one nightshirt and cap) will be liable to punishment.

The Study-Room and Cloisters

1. All scratching or writing upon any part of the College walls, indoors or out, is strictly forbidden, and will be severely punished whenever it is detected.

Each boy is expected to keep his own study neat and in good order, and all are desired to be as careful as possible to avoid spilling or blotting of ink, both upon their own writing-desks and upon the public tables. Every desire is felt on the part of the authorities to promote in all reasonable ways the convenience and comfort of the boys, and it is confidently hoped that the boys on their part will be anxious to show themselves worthy of such treatment by maintaining, on all occasions, neatness, cleanliness, and good order among themselves. Each boy's property in his study is to be accounted *sacred*, as if it were kept under lock and key. Any violation of this rule, such as borrowing books, &c., without leave, will be regarded as an act of dishonesty, and, as such, will be most severely punished.

2. At times of assembling before chapel, hall, school, or private study, every boy is expected to be in his place as soon as the bell has done ringing.

3. During study-hours no two boys are allowed to sit together in the same study, every boy being expected to prepare his own lesson by himself.

4. After study-time has begun, no boy will be allowed to leave his study, unless he shall have occasion to ask permission to go out of the room. This permission will be granted to only one boy at a time.

5. The times of study are to be strictly devoted to the school business. All other reading at such times is forbidden.

6. When the bell rings for bedtime, the boys will immediately cease from whatever work they may be upon, and each will take care to put his study in good order before he leaves it for the night.

7. No playing with balls or tops is allowed in the private study-room, or in the cloisters, or under the gateway of the entrance-tower.

8. No boy is allowed to change his study without permission.

Playground, Gardens, &c.

1. No playing football is allowed between breakfast and chapel.

2. All games are to be left off immediately when the bell rings.

3. Garden tools when out of use are to be put away carefully in the tool-shed, and not to be left lying about in the gardens or elsewhere.

4. No bows and arrows are allowed.

5. Sticks are not to be carried about except when used for games, as hockey, &c., nor to be brought into the study-room, but put away in the tool-shed.

6. No throwing snowballs is allowed within the quadrangle, nor throwing stones within any part of the College premises.

7. No live animals are allowed to be kept.

8. The use of gunpowder in any shape is strictly forbidden.

9. The commencement and conclusion of the lawful season for bathing will be regulated by express order from the Warden, which must be ascertained by the captain.

No boy, who is not an officer, will be allowed to bathe more than once a day.

10. All taking of birds' nests is forbidden.

11. Climbing up trees in the plantations about the College is forbidden.

The Bounds

The only bounds laid down at present are as follows :

To the south, the public road, which is itself out of bounds.

To the north-east, the College paling and mill-stream.

The mill, mill-road, and fields south of the mill-stream are out of bounds.

The stableyard, kitchen-garden, and all the ground to the south and east about the College, are also out of bounds.

All the country on the opposite side of the river is free, except the village of Heriotfield, which is out of bounds.

The only house or shop to which access is allowed is the Manciple's, who is authorised to keep on sale for *ready money only* all such articles as are necessary or allowed.

Any dealing with vagrants is strictly forbidden.

It is specially enjoined upon all the boys to be very careful not to commit any damage in the woods, through which they have permission to walk, by cutting off branches from the trees, &c., nor in any other way to give offence to our neighbours by committing a trespass, or doing injury to their property.

Climbing over the wall which runs by your private gardens is forbidden.

(These rules do not apply to the officers, who have liberty to go where they please, except into the kitchen-garden, stable-yard, and the other college offices.)

Dress

1. Every boy is required to wear his gown buttoned in school and in chapel, and at other times when he has occasion to appear before a Master.

2. Hats are to be worn on Sundays, and caps on other days, except by the prefects, who have the privilege of wearing a hat, if they please, on every day.

3. No boy is allowed to go outside the tower-gate without his hat or cap on, nor beyond the premises of the College without his gown. When a boy has occasion to put off his gown in order to join in a game, it must not be thrown upon the ground, but hung up in his own study.

4. No Wellington boots are allowed to be worn.

Going Æger

1. When a boy is poorly in the morning, and wishes to be absent from the first school, he must speak to the bed-maker as he rings the bell along the dormitory, and desire him to apply for permission from the sub-Warden. He will then be visited in his bedroom by one of the authorities before breakfast, who will determine whether he is to remain *æger* during the day.

2. If a boy becomes poorly in the course of the day, and wishes to be absent from school, or chapel, or meals, he must apply in person to the Warden if he is a boy in the Upper First Class, or, if in a lower class, to the sub-Warden.

3. Boys, when they are *æger*, will be required to be up by nine o'clock (except when otherwise ordered), and to remain in the sick-room, unless they have permission from the Warden or sub-Warden to go out.

4. Any boy who has occasion to see the Matron of an evening must do so, upon obtaining permission, between eight and nine o'clock.

Duties of Prefects and Officers

Seven of the senior boys are specially appointed to act as prefects and officers.

1. The captain, who is also, *ex officio*, prefect of chapel and hall.
- 2-5. Four prefects of study and cloisters.
6. Prefect of games.
7. Prefect of library.

It will be the duty of these boys, severally, to take charge of that which immediately concerns their office, and collectively in a body, or through the captain, to communicate with the Warden, or in his absence with the sub-Warden, upon all matters which require his sanction and authority.

It will also be their duty—

1. To superintend generally the conduct of the other boys, and especially to see that all the laws are obeyed.
2. To suppress noise and disorder, especially in the study-rooms.
3. To prevent any tyrannical or unkind usage among the junior boys one of another, and to help them and do them good in every way they are able.
4. To read the First Lesson in chapel (which is the duty also of the other communicants) on ordinary days, but not on eves and festivals.

5. In case any boy is absent from chapel or hall, it is the duty of the senior of the form or table to which he belongs to report his name to the sub-Warden.

PRAYERS BEFORE SCHOOL

The Lord be with you.

And with thy spirit.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Christ, have mercy upon us.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Our Father, &c.

Monday Morning

O Thou that sendest forth the light and it goeth, that makest the sun to rise on the evil and on the good, on the just and on the unjust, Who createst the light and lightenest the whole world, lighten also our hearts, Thou Lord of all. Grant us this day to please Thee, guarding us from all sin and wickedness, preserving us from the arrow that flieth by day and from all adverse power; for it is Thy property to have mercy upon us and to save us, O our God; and to Thee, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, we ascribe glory now and always, and to everlasting ages, world without end. Amen.

O Christ, the true Light, that lightest and sanctifiest every man that cometh into the world, let the light of Thy countenance shine upon us, that in it we may see the unapproachable light, and direct our ways to the work of Thy Commandments, for Thy blessed Name's sake. Amen.

Tuesday Morning

Almighty God, who at about this hour didst instruct and replenish the hearts of Thy faithful servants, by sending down upon them the light of Thy Holy Spirit, grant us by the same Spirit to have a right judgment in all things, that we may both perceive and know what we ought to do, and also have grace and power faithfully to fulfil the same; through the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ, Who was also at this hour contented to receive the bitter sentence of death for us, and now liveth and reigneth with Thee, in the unity of the same blessed Spirit, our God, world without end. Amen.

Wednesday Morning

Almighty God, the fountain of all goodness and the well-spring of divine graces, Who hast vouchsafed to regenerate us,

being born in sin, by water and the Holy Ghost, in the blessed laver of Baptism, thereby receiving us into the number of Thy children, and making us heirs of everlasting life, in the communion of Thy glorious Saints, strengthen us, we beseech Thee, O Lord, with that blessed Spirit of Thine, the Ghostly Comforter, and daily increase in us Thy manifold gifts of grace, the spirit of counsel and ghostly strength, the spirit of knowledge and true godliness; and fill us, O Lord, with the spirit of Thy holy fear, even through Him Who hast poured down the Spirit upon His Church, Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Thursday Morning

Grant, we beseech Thee, Almighty God, that like as we do believe Thy only-begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, to have ascended into the heavens, so we may also in heart and mind thither ascend, and with Him continually dwell, Who liveth and reigneth with Thee and the Holy Ghost, one God, world without end. Amen.

O God, the King of Glory, Who hast exalted Thine only Son, Jesus Christ, with great triumph into Thy Kingdom in Heaven, we beseech Thee leave us not comfortless, but send to us Thine Holy Ghost, to comfort us and exalt us unto the same place whither our Saviour, Christ, is gone before, Who liveth and reigneth with Thee and the Holy Ghost, one God, world without end. Amen.

Friday Morning

Almighty God, we beseech Thee graciously to behold this Thy family, for which our Lord Jesus Christ was contented to be betrayed, and given up into the hands of wicked men, and to suffer death upon the Cross, Who now liveth and reigneth with Thee and the Holy Ghost, ever one God, world without end. Amen.

Almighty and everlasting God, by Whose Spirit the whole body of the Church is governed and sanctified, receive our supplications and prayers, which we offer before Thee for all estates of men in Thy Holy Church, that every member of the same, in his vocation and ministry, may truly and godly serve Thee; through our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. Amen.

O Saviour of the world, Who by Thy Cross and precious

Blood hast redeemed us, save us and help us, we humbly beseech Thee, O Lord. Amen.

Saturday Morning

Grant, O Lord, that as we are baptized into the death of Thy Blessed Son, our Saviour, Jesus Christ, so by continual mortifying our corrupt affections we may be buried with Him, and that through the grave and gate of death we may pass to our joyful resurrection; for His merits Who died, and was buried, and rose again for us, Thy Son, Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

O merciful God, grant that the old Adam in us may be so buried that the new man may be raised up in us. Amen.

Grant that all carnal affections may die in us, and that all things belonging to the Spirit may live and grow in us. Amen.

Grant that we may have power and strength to have victory and to triumph against the Devil, the world, and the flesh. Amen.

DAILY PRAYER FOR A BLESSING ON OUR STUDIES

O Lord Jesus Christ, Who art the eternal Wisdom of the Father, we beseech Thee to assist us with Thy heavenly grace, that we may be blessed in our studies this day, and, above all things, may attain the knowledge of Thee, Whom to know is life eternal: and that, according to the example of Thy most holy Childhood, we may grow in wisdom and years, and in favour with God and man. Amen.

The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, &c. Amen.

THE COMPLINE, OR FINAL PRAYERS, SAID BEFORE BEDTIME

After the Hymn.

Bishop Cosin.

The Lord be with you.

And with thy spirit.

Let us pray.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Christ, have mercy upon us.

Lord, have mercy upon us.

Our Father, &c. Amen.

HYMN. *Sunday Evening*

'Salvator mundi Domino.'

1.

Blessed Saviour, Lord of all,
 Vouchsafe to hear us when we call,
 And now to those propitious be
 That in prayer bow to Thee,
 Still to be kept from misery.

2.

Great Ruler of the day and night,
 On our darkness cast Thy light,
 And let Thy Passion pardon win
 For what we have offended in
 Thought, or word, or deed of sin.

3.

And as Thy mercy wipes away
 What we have done amiss to-day,
 So, now the night returns again,
 Our bodies and our souls refrain
 From being soiled with sinful stain.

4.

Let not dull sleep oppress our eyes,
 Nor us the Enemy surprise,
 Nor fearful dreams our souls affright
 While the blackness of the night
 Holds from us the cheerful light.

5.

To Thee, Who dost by rest renew
 Our wasted strength, we humbly sue ;
 That when we shall unclothe our eyes,
 Pure and chaste we may arise
 And make our morning sacrifice.

6.

Honour, Lord, to Thee be done,
O Thou blessed Virgin's Son !
With the Father and the Spirit,
As is Thine eternal merit,
Ever, ever to inherit. Amen.

Tuesday and Friday

O Lord, our Heavenly Father, Almighty and ever-living God, by Whose providence both the day and the night are governed, vouchsafe, we beseech Thee, as Thou hast this day preserved us by Thy goodness, so still this night to shadow us under the blessed wing of Thy most mighty protection, and to cover us with Thy heavenly mercy, that neither the princes of darkness may have any power over us, nor the works of darkness overwhelm us, but that we, being armed with Thy defence, may be preserved from all adversities that may hurt the body, and from all wicked thoughts which may assault and defile the soul, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

Every Evening

O Thou, that art the light eternal and the Sun of Righteousness, evermore arising, and never going down, giving life and good and gladness unto all things, mercifully vouchsafe to shine upon us, and cast Thy blessed beam upon the darkness of our understanding and the black mists of our sins and errors ; for Thy only merits, Who art alone our Saviour, Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen.

The Lord's name be praised from the rising up of the sun unto the going down thereof. Amen.

Wednesday and Saturday

Merciful Lord, Who of Thine abundant goodness towards us hast made the day to travel in, and ordained the night wherein to take our rest, grant us such rest of body that we may continually have a waking soul, to watch for the time when our Lord shall appear, to deliver us from this mortal life. Let no vain or wandering fancy trouble us ; let our ghostly enemies have no power over us ; but let our minds be set wholly upon

Thy presence, to love and fear and trust in Thee alone : that, being refreshed with a moderate and sober sleep, we may rise up again, with cheerful strength and gladness, to serve Thee in all good works, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

PRAYER OF ST. BASIL, FOR THE EVENING

Monday and Thursday

O Lord our God, Who hast preserved us from every arrow that flieth by day, preserve us also from the pestilence that walketh in darkness. Accept the evening sacrifice of the lifting up of our hands. Grant that we may pass this night unblamably and free from evil ; and deliver us from all trouble and all fear of the Devil. Grant us watchful souls and thoughts mindful of the scrutiny of Thy fearful and just judgment. Crucify our flesh by Thy fear, and mortify our members which are upon the earth, that even in the quiet of sleep we may watch for the appearing of Thy judgment. Put far away from us all evil imagination and all hurtful lust. Raise us up at the time of prayer strengthened in the faith, and set forward in Thy Commandments, for the mercy and goodness of Thy only-begotten Son, with Whom, in the unity of Thy all-holy, good, and life-giving Spirit, Thou art blessed, now and always, world without end. Amen.

Preserve us while we are waking, and defend us when we are sleeping, that our souls may continually watch for Thee, and both body and soul may rest in Thy peace for ever. Amen.

The Versicle

The day is Thine, and the night is Thine. Thou art worthy, O Lord, to receive honour and praise and worship for evermore. Amen.

Unto God's gracious mercy and protection we commit you. The Lord bless you and keep you. The Lord make His face to shine upon you, and be gracious unto you. The Lord lift up His countenance upon you, and give you peace, both now and evermore. Amen.

*COURSE OF SERMONS FOR DIVINITY STUDENTS
AT GLENALMOND.*

Cursus Theologicus; or, a Selection of Sermons and other Discourses arranged systematically for the use of Students in Theology.

‘Sermons contain as much and as good Divinity as any other Discourses whatever, and might be digested into a better body of Divinity than any that is yet extant.’—Waterland, *Advice to a Young Student*, Works, vol. vi. p. 311.

INTRODUCTORY

1. Value of human learning, even to inspired persons. Bishop Bull, i. p. 240 [ed. Burton, Oxford, 1827, on 2 Tim. iv. 13—*Human Means Useful to Inspired Persons*]. (Brogden,¹ i. p. 277.)
Compare Lightfoot, vol. ii. p. 1,033 [fol. ed. 1684]; Bishop Andrewes, vol. iii. p. 287 [A. C. Lib. 1850].
2. Human learning indispensable to the Christian Minister. Bishop Horsley, i. p. 196 [Sermon xiv. ed. London, 1830, on 1 Cor. ii. 2—an Ordination Sermon at Gloucester].
3. In two parts. Holiness the true *via Intelligentiæ*. Bishop Taylor, vi. [ed. Heber, 1839, on John vii. 17].
(a) pp. 373-387, to ‘ways of wisdom.’
(b) pp. 387 to end. (Brogden, i. p. 199.)
Compare John’s Smith’s *Select Discourses*, pp. 3-25 (first published in 1660), to which Taylor, whose sermon was preached in 1662, was evidently much indebted. See also Hammond, *Sermons*, vol. i. p. 294 [A. Cath. Lib. 1849].
4. The extent and difficulty of the priestly office. Bishop Bull, i. p. 137; Brogden, i. p. 253; Clergyman’s Instructor, p. 271 (‘an inestimable production,’ *Memoirs of William Wordsworth*, ii. p. 181).

¹ This refers to James Brogden’s three volumes of Sermons, &c., selected from those of divines of the seventeenth century, called *Illustrations of the Liturgy and Ritual of the Church of England*, and published in 1842. See a table of the contents in James Darling’s *Cyclopædia Bibliographica*, s.v. Brogden. He published, in 1846, a similar selection, entitled, *Catholic Safeguards against the Errors, Corruptions, and Novelties of the Church of Rome*.

I. OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION IN GENERAL

Divine authority, importance, and fundamentals of Christianity—Unity of the Church—Private judgment, and authority in matters of religion.

[5.] Wherein religion consists, and what it requires. Barrow, i. pp. 18–21 [Oxford, 1830, from Sermon i., *The Pleasantness of Religion*, on Prov. iii. 17].

Of revelation and the Messiah. Bentley, iii. p. 219 [*Works*, ed. Dyce, 1836].

5*. In two parts. Divine authority and excellency of Christianity, † comparatively (with Paganism, Mahometanism, and Judaism ‡) and positively. Barrow, vi.—

(a) pp. 118–140. ‘It was anciently’—‘mankind.’

(b) pp. 140–159. ‘Holy Scripture’—end.

(*Christian Institutes* [ed. Dr. Chr. Wordsworth], i. p. 25.)

† Compare Bishop Andrewes on Comm., p. 34 [probably his sermon on the Second Commandment, *On the Worshipping of Imaginations*, A. C. Lib., vol. v. pp. 54 foll.] Sermon. p. 100.

Horne, *Introduction to the Holy Scriptures*, i. p. 427.

Barrow, iv. pp. 110–114 (Qu. add that sermon to the course?), v. p. 17, viii. pp. 145, 466; Leslie, i. 28 [*Works*, Oxford, 1832, *A Short and Easy Method with the Deists*]; I. Williams, Introd. p. 93 [*Thoughts on the Study of the Holy Gospels, intended as an Introduction to a Harmony and Commentary*, ed. 1842].

‡ But compare W. Jones of Nayland, *Works*, vi. p. 256, ed. 1801. See also Barrow, v. p. 32; Bishop Andrewes on Comm., p. 37; Bishop Taylor, ii. p. xxxvi. *sqq.*

6. A moral demonstration that the Christian religion is from God. Bishop Taylor, xii. pp. 39–66 (*Christian Institutes*, i. 59).

Compare Barrow, v. p. 60 and pp. 127–131. Beveridge, *Private Thoughts on Religion*, *Works*, A. C. Lib., i. p. 143; Horne, vol. i. *passim*; Archbishop Bramhall, *Bishop Taylor's Funeral Sermon*, vol. i. p. xlvi.

7. Combined character of the Christian evidences. Davison, *Discourses on Prophecy*, p. 14.

- Compare Wordsworth's *Ecclesiastical Biography*, iv. p. 613; Horne, *Introd.* i.; Leslie, i. p. 289, *The Truth of Christianity Demonstrated*. Four rules of miracles, *ibid.* p. 12.
8. Fundamentals of Christianity. Waterland, *A Discourse of Fundamentals*, vol. viii. [Oxford, 1823], in two parts.
 (a) pp. 87-104, down to 'of it.'
 (b) p. 104-end.
- Compare Palmer, *On the Church*, i. p. 102; Bishop Burnet, *On the Articles*, p. 248; J. H. Newman, *Prophetical Office of the Church* [ed. 2, 1838, Lect. ix. *On the Essentials of the Gospels*], pp. 262 *sqq.*
9. In three parts. On the unity of the Church. Barrow, vii.—
 (a) pp. 625-654, down to 'heaven.'
 (b) pp. 654-673, 'to others.'
 (c) p. 673-end.
- Compare Bingham, v. p. 369 [*Of the Union and Communion observed in the Ancient Church*: reprinted as the first number of the *St. Andrews Tracts*, Burntisland, 1854].
10. True notion of the Catholic Church. Leslie, iii. pp. 227-252.
11. Letter to a Converted Deist. Leslie, i. pp. 51-76.
12. Of private judgment and authority in matters of faith. Leslie, i. pp. 379-410.

II. OF GOD

13. Being and attributes of God. Barrow, vi. pp. 92-118 (*Christian Institutes*, i. p. 3).
14. Divine unity stated and cleared. Waterland, ii. p. 67.
15. Mystery of the Blessed Trinity. Barrow, iv. p. 186 (*Christian Institutes*, ii. p. 495.)
16. Catholic doctrine of the Holy Trinity. Bishop Bull, ii. p. 1.
17. Use and importance of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity familiarly explained. Waterland, vol. viii. p. 433.
 'Dr. Waterland's Incomparable Tract.' Bishop Horne, *Sermon*, vol. v. p. 104. See also Beveridge, i. pp. 330-350.
18. Of the goodness of God. Barrow, vol. iii. pp. 514-531, and 547-550 (*Christian Institutes*, ii. p. 206).

19. Of the Providence of God, general and particular. Bishop Bull, i. p. 451.
See also Barrow, vol. i. p. 278; South, i. p. 201 [on Prov. xvi. 33, d. Oxford, 1823]; Archbishop John Sharp, of York, Sermon xiii. vol. i. p. 369 [6th edition, London, 1729].
20. Of the foreknowledge of God and man's free agency. Davison *On Prophecy*, p. 351.
21. Of the scheme of redemption by Christ. Bishop Beveridge, vol. iv. p. 126.
22. Of the doctrine of universal redemption. In four parts. Barrow, vol. iv. p. 1 foll.

III. MEANS OF GRACE

Holy Scripture, Sacraments, and Sacramentals.

23. Gifts and graces of the Holy Ghost. Gloucester Ridley, p. 91, Sermon iii. [Lady Moyer's Lecture, preached in 1740, 1741, and published London, 1742. *Eight Sermons on the Divinity and Operations of the Holy Ghost*. Reprinted, Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1802].
24. Grace attainable by all. *Ibid.* p. 199, Sermon vi.
25. Means of grace. *Ibid.*, Sermon vii.
26. Means of grace. *Ibid.*, Sermon viii.
27. Treatise of the Holy Scriptures. Bishop Jewell, vol. iv. p. 1,162—
(a) pp. 1,162–77, to 'Word of God.'
(b) p. 1,177 to end.
Compare Translator's Preface to Holy Bible.
28. Sufficiency of Holy Scripture. Bishop Beveridge, vol. iv. p. 1. Compare Newman, *Prophetic Office*, pp. 198 *sqq.*, and the whole of Lecture xi. and first part of Lecture xii.
29. Inspiration of Holy Scripture. Archbishop Seeker, vol. iii. p. 286.
Compare Horne's *Introduction*, vol. i. pp. 200–204, and pp. 474–481.
30. On the canon of the Old Testament. [Christopher] Wordsworth's *Hulsean Lectures*. Lecture iii.

31. On the Apocrypha. *Ibid.*, Lecture iv.
32. On the canon of the New Testament. *Ibid.*, Lecture v., and read the third of the same author's *Letters to M. Gondon*.
On inspiration. Lecture v. God's care of the Bible and the effects it has produced, proofs of its inspiration.
33. On the canonicity of the latest-received books of the New Testament. Bishop Gibson's *Third Pastoral Letter*, reprinted in Bishop Randolph's *Enchiridion Theologicum*, ii. pp. 250-275, Oxford, 1825.
Compare [Chr.] Wordsworth, *Hulsean Lectures on Canon*, x. pp. 245-253, xi. pp. 286-end.
34. Concerning prayer. Three parts. Homilies, pp. 284-301.
On question of prayers for the dead (raised, p. 299), see *Quarterly Review*.
- 34*. On Holy Orders. Bishop Beveridge, vol. ii. p. 108.
- 34**. On public prayer. Bishop Beveridge, vol. i.—
(a) pp. 477-503.
(b) pp. 503-end.
35. Sacraments as means of union with the manhood of Christ. Robert Isaac Wilberforce *On the Incarnation*. Two parts.
(a) Chap. xiii. pp. 404-430.
(b) „ pp. 430-455.
36. On the doctrinal use of the Christian Sacraments. Waterland, viii. p. 129.
37. On the Sacrament of Baptism. Bishop Taylor, vol. ii. pp. 235-258.
38. On Infant Baptism. William Wall, *History of Infant Baptism*, chap. x. vol. ii. pp. 493-524 [Oxford, 1835].
39. On Confirmation. Bishop Taylor [ed. Heber], vol. xi.—
(a) pp. 229-251.
(b) pp. 252-274.
(c) pp. 274-end.
Compare Bishop Hall, *χειροθεσία*, vol. x. p. 440 *seq.*
40. On the Eucharist. Robert Nelson, pp. 19-77.
41. On the Eucharistical Office. Keble, *Sermons*, p. 251.

42. On frequent Communion. Bishop Beveridge, vol. i. p. 532. Compare Tillotson, i. p. 224.
43. On Absolution. Bishop Andrewes, vol. v. p. 82.
- 43*. On Sacerdotal benedictions.
44. On the Christian Sabbath. Bishop Jolly, *Observations upon the several Sunday Services*, pp. 39, 72. [Third ed. Edin. 1840].
45. On public prayer and daily service. Bishop Beveridge, vol. i.—
 (a) pp. 477–503.
 (b) p. 503–end.

IV. DUTY OF MAN

Repentance, faith, and good works.

46. On repentance. Charles Wordsworth, *On Evangelical Repentance* [Parker, Oxford, 1841].
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